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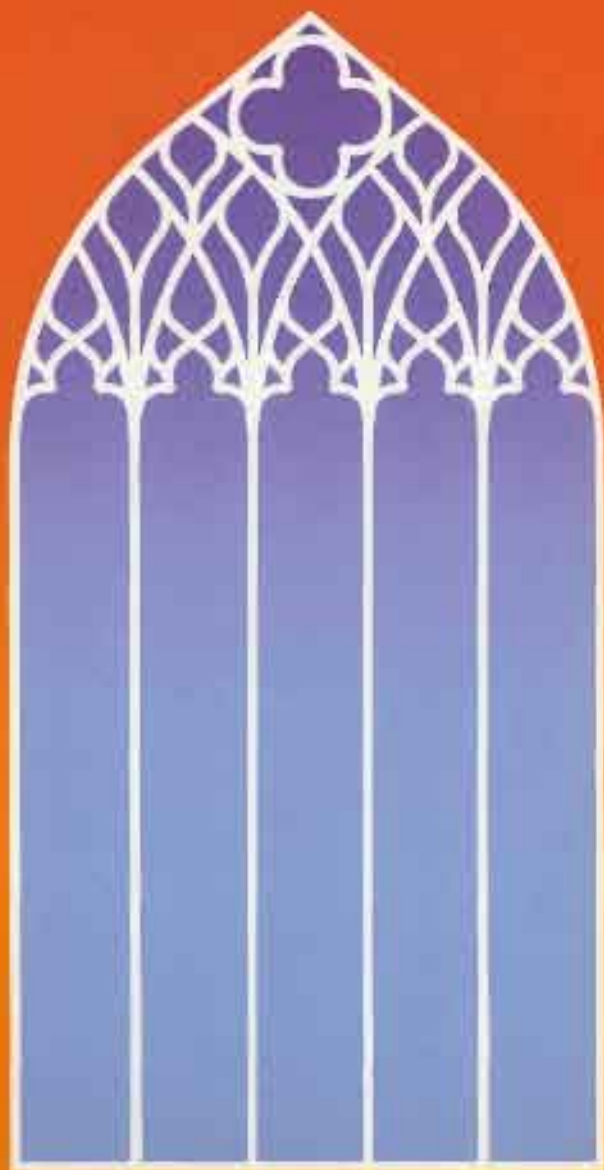
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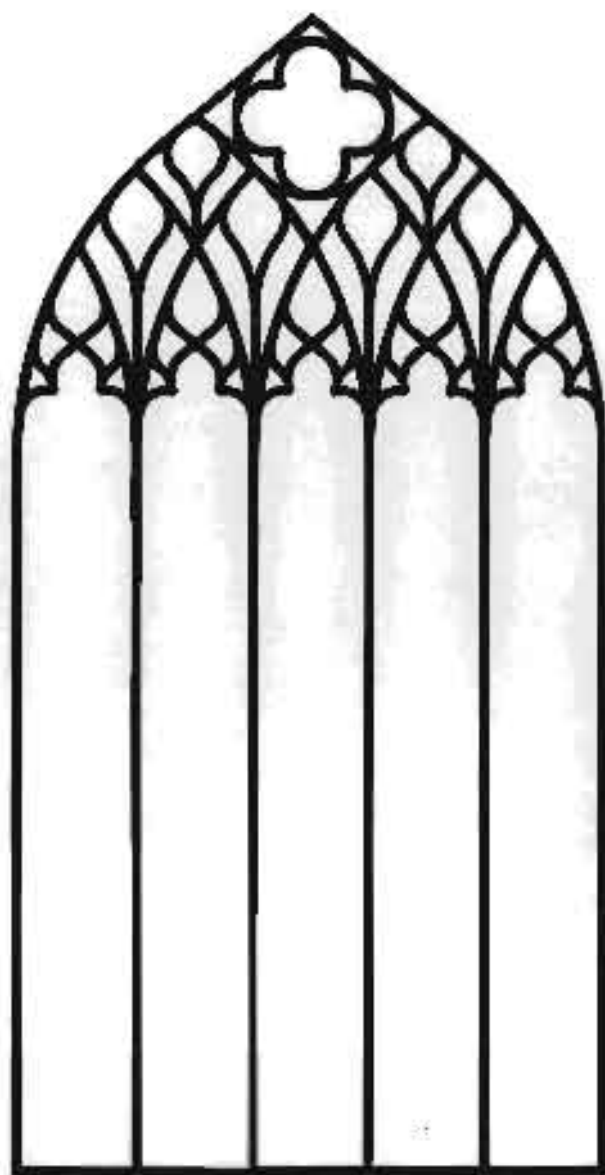
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COVER: Abstraction of the window tracery, Salt Lake City Tenth Ward. Design by Warren Archer.

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LETTERS

The Journal of Mormon History welcomes comments on articles and book reviews, queries about Mormon history topics, additional information on subjects covered in the Journal, and ideas that will help us make future issues more interesting, stimulating, and valuable to readers. We will consider letters that are one or two typewritten, double-spaced pages; occasionally, a longer letter may be important enough to print as an exception to this policy. Because of limited space, we must reserve the right to select letters to be published and to edit them. Send letters to the Letters Editor, Journal of Mormon History, Box 581068, Salt Lake City, UT 84158-1068.

Correcting the Record

Patricia Lyn Scott's "Mormon Polygamy: A Bibliography, 1977-92" in the Spring 1993 issue of the *Journal of Mormon History* incorrectly attributes to S. George Ellsworth an article I wrote, "Reluctant Polygamists: The Strains and Challenges of the Transition to Polygamy in a Prominent Mormon Family," in *Religion and Society in the American West: Historical Essays*, edited by Carl Gauer and David Alvarez (Lanham, Maryland: University Press of America, 1987). I should like to suggest that future revisions of the bibliography make this correction and also include my recent book, *Women, Family, and Utopia: Communal Experiments of the Shakers, the Oneida Community, and the Mormons* (Syracuse, New York: Syracuse University Press, 1991), which addresses various aspects of polygamy and the changing roles of Mor-

mon women in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. The selected bibliography for this book also silently corrects some inaccuracies in an earlier article, "Mormon Women: A Bibliography in Process, 1977-1985," which appeared in the *Journal of Mormon History* 1985 issue.

Lawrence Foster

Georgia Institute of Technology

More on Bibliography . . .

My *Journal of Mormon History* arrived a few days ago, and I enjoyed it immensely, as always. I was particularly interested in the excellent bibliography on Mormon polygamy and wondered if a future revision could include my book, *The True Believers* (Port Washington, New York: Ashley Books, Inc., 1987). It is a partially fictionalized account of the life of my great-grandfather, Henry Lund of Cedar City, and is based on stories re-

peated by the family and passed down through the generations. It was reviewed under "Brief Notices" in the Spring 1989 issue of *Dialogue*. Thanks to Patricia Lyn

Scott for her good work on the bibliography.

Alyce S. Rohrer
Pasadena, California

"The Tongue of Angels": Glossolalia among Mormonism's Founders

Dan Vogel and Scott C. Dunn

IN AN 1842 LETTER TO CHICAGO editor John Wentworth, Joseph Smith announced that members of the restored church "believe in the gift of tongues, prophesy, revelation, visions, healing, interpretation of tongues &c."¹ Twelve years earlier, the newly published Book of Mormon declared that latter-day believers who received the Holy Ghost would "speak with a new tongue, yea, even with the tongue of angels" (2 Ne. 31:14; see also 32:2-3; 3 Ne. 29:6; Morm. 9:7, 24; Moro. 10:15-16). In an increasingly rationalistic America, early nineteenth-century Mormon missionaries reportedly declared that "there can be no true church, where the gift of miracles, of tongues, of healing, &c. are not exhibited and continued."² This essay explores the origin, prac-

DAN VOGEL, who has a B.A. in history from California State University, Long Beach, is author of *Indian Origins and the Book of Mormon* and *Religious Seekers and the Advent of Mormonism*. He lives with his wife, Margie, in Columbus, Ohio. SCOTT C. DUNN is a contributing editor for *PC World* magazine and has published in *Sinister*. He currently lives in Seattle, Washington.

¹ Joseph Smith, "Church History," *Times and Seasons* 3 (1 March 1842): 710.

² *Cincinnati Standard*, 30 November 1832; rept. *American Eagle*, 23 April 1833. Lee Copeland, "Speaking in Tongues in the Restoration Churches," *Dialogue: A Journal of Mormon Thought* 24 (Spring 1991): 13-33, documents the pervasiveness of the practice among first-generation Mormons.

lice, and decline of tongues among Mormonism's first generation, focusing on the tension between institutional imperatives and individual charisma.

The New Testament describes two kinds of tongues: (1) *glossolalia*, an unintelligible ecstatic speech experienced in the Pauline churches (1 Cor. 12:14); and (2) *xenoglossia*, the gift of speaking foreign languages unknown to the speaker as occurred at Pentecost (Acts 2:1-13). Both forms were widely and persistently practiced by first-generation Mormons. We follow the general practice of using "tongues" and "glossolalia" interchangeably but specifying xenoglossia in the second case.

NEW YORK ORIGINS AND OHIO EXCESSES

While Lee Copeland traced the origin of glossolalia to Sidney Rigdon and the Ohio converts, the practice actually dates to New York prior to contact with Rigdon.³ According to David Whitmer, the Book of Mormon's believers rejoiced in glossolalia even before the Church had been officially organized on 6 April 1830. In an 1887 recollection, Whitmer said that "almost everyone who was baptized received the Holy Ghost in power, some prophesying, some speaking in tongues, the heavens were opened to some, and all the signs which Christ promised should follow the believers were with us abundantly."⁴ A crossed-out portion of an early draft of Joseph Smith's history mentions tongues and other spiritual phenomena as characteristic of manifestations among the Ohio converts. The passage, which attempted to describe events of 6 April 1830, but which unintentionally included elements from the Church's first conference in Fayette, New York, on 9 June 1830, is perhaps nevertheless relevant to pre-Ohio glossolalia:

The Holy Ghost was poured out upon the whole community . . . in a miraculous manner. . . . Some prophesied, [sic] many spoke with new tongues, and some . . . of our number were . . . completely overpowered for a time, that we were obliged to lay them upon beds &c &c, and when bodily sensibility was restored to them they shouted Hosannas

³ Copeland, "Speaking in Tongues," 15-19.

⁴ David Whitmer, *An Address to All Believers in Christ* (Richmond, Mo.: David Whitmer, 1887), 33.

to God and the Lamb—and declared that the Heavens had been opened unto them . . . that they had seen Jesus Christ sitting at the right hand of the Majesty on high, and many great and glorious things.⁵

It was the message that a charismatic gospel had been restored which Oliver Cowdery, Parley P. Pratt, Peter Whitmer, and Ziba Peterson brought to Ohio; this message attracted Sidney Rigdon and others in the vicinity of Mentor and Kirtland. Many in Ohio had already grown dissatisfied with Campbellite rationalism and were seeking a restoration of spiritual gifts before the arrival of the Mormon missionaries.⁶

As a former Campbellite, Pratt perhaps anticipated the charismatic gospel of Mormonism which took hold and flourished in northern Ohio. Expectations for spiritual manifestations were high among the Ohio converts, for many of them tied such phenomena to the authority to perform religious ordinances. John Murdock, for instance, required an outward sign that the Mormon missionaries possessed apostolic authority as they claimed. If they were true apostles, Murdock believed, then "the Holy Ghost will attend their ministration of the ordinances. . . . For I did not believe that the spirit would attend their ministration if the Book of Mormon was not true, neither if they were not sent forth of God." When he questioned some of their converts, he found that the "manifestation of the spirit attended the ministration of the ordinance of laying on hands." In accordance with early nineteenth-century revivalistic expectations, the outward manifestation of spirit reception usually entailed fainting, convulsing, barking, or tongues. Murdock received his sign. When Pratt baptized him on 5 November 1830, Murdock reported that "the spirit of the Lord sensibly attended the ministration, and I came out of the water rejoicing and singing praises to God and the Lamb."⁷ Singing

⁵ Dean C. Jessen, ed., *The Papers of Joseph Smith: Volume 1: Autobiographical and Historical Writings* (Salt Lake City: Desert Book Co., 1989), 243. When the editors of the history moved this passage to its proper place, the reference to "new tongues" was dropped (cf. *ibid.*, 249-50).

⁶ See Dan Vogel, *Religious Seekers and the Advent of Mormonism* (Salt Lake City: Signature Books, 1988), 36-37.

⁷ John Murdock, "Autobiography," 12, 15, 16, Historical Department Archives of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, Salt Lake City (hereafter cited

praises to God in the spirit usually meant singing in tongues (cf. 2 Ne. 31:13).

Ohio converts apparently experienced both glossolalia and xenoglossia. Campbellite Josiah Jones reported in 1831 that Lyman Wight "sung a song which no one ever heard before, and which they said was the most melodious that they ever listened to. It was sung in another tongue."⁸ About this time John Corrill, later a convert, visited Kirtland where he said he heard Mormons "speak in tongues unknown to me," and was informed by some non-Mormons who were present "that the tongues were regular Indian dialects, which I was also informed, on inquiry, the persons who spoke had never learned."⁹

Spiritual manifestations among the Ohio Mormons, however, drew ridicule from their more rational neighbors. Eber D. Howe's contempt and denigration of the Mormons is apparent in his description of events shortly following Rigdon's conversion to Mormonism: "A scene of the wildest enthusiasm was exhibited, . . . they would fall, as without strength, roll upon the floor, . . . they exhibited all the apish actions imaginable, making grimaces both horrid and ridiculous. . . . At other times they are taken with a fit of jabbering that they neither understand themselves nor any body else, and this they call speaking foreign languages by divine inspiration."¹⁰

The chaotic situation in Ohio also presented Smith with

as LDS Church Archives), quoted in Richard L. Anderson, "The Impact of the First Preaching in Ohio," *Brigham Young University Studies* 11 (Summer 1971): 482-83.

⁸ [Letter to the Editor], *The Evangelist*, June 1841. The letter, although published in 1841, is dated "Kirtland, 1831."

⁹ John Corrill, *A Brief History of the Church of Christ of Latter Day Saints, (Commonly Called Mormons)* . . . (St. Louis: John Corrill, 1839), 9. Corrill is describing events which occurred before his baptism on 10 January 1831.

¹⁰ *Painesville (Ohio) Telegraph*, 15 February 1831, 3. The spiritual excesses in the early church are also described in Parley P. Pratt, Jr., ed., *Autobiography of Parley Parker Pratt* (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book Co., 1976), 61, and Corrill, *Brief History of the Church*, 16. See also Max H. Parkin, "Kirtland, A Stronghold for the Kingdom," in *The Restoration Movement: Essays in Mormon History*, F. Mark McKiernan, Alma R. Blair, and Paul M. Edwards, eds. (Lawrence, Kansas: Cornucopia Press, 1973), 66-67.

some challenges to his charismatic leadership. Early Mormon historian John Whitmer described how easily this small group of about three hundred followers of charismatic authority could be led astray. Describing the situation in northern Ohio in early 1831, Whitmer said Satan "took a notion to blind the minds of some of the weaker ones, and made them think that an angel of the Lord appeared to them and showed them writings on the outside of the Bible, and on parchment, which flew through the air, and on the back of their hands, and many such foolish and vain things—others lost their strength, and some slid on the floor, and such like maneuvers, which proved greatly to the injury of the cause."¹¹ Smith himself later recalled the confused situation in Kirtland, stating that "many false spirits were introduced, many strange visions were seen, and wild enthusiastic notions were entertained . . . and many ridiculous things were entered into, calculated to bring disgrace upon the church of God."¹² The situation threatened to fragment the budding Church into competing groups of private revelation.

Soon after his arrival at Kirtland in early February 1831, Smith moved to contain spiritual excesses and to secure his leadership. That month, he dictated a revelation explaining that only he would receive revelation for the Church (D&C 43) and in May dictated another warning to the elders of "false spirits" and instructing them to reject all spirits they could not understand (D&C 50:1-36). Thus, the Church approved spiritual gifts, but it set up safeguards by specifying their proper role.

Apparently Smith was seeking a middle ground between rationalism and revivalism. In an 1842 editorial in the *Times and Seasons*, Smith explained that the true gift of the Holy Ghost was somewhere between two common extremes. "Some people have been in the habit of calling every supernatural manifestation, the

¹¹ F. Mark McKernan and Roger D. Launius, eds., *An Early Latter Day Saint History: The Book of John Whitmer, Kept by Commandment* (Independence: Herald House, 1980), 36.

¹² Joseph Smith, "'Try the Spirits,'" *Times and Seasons* 3 (1 April 1842): 747. Smith particularly objected to the unusual outward bodily agitations which accompanied their practice of glossolalia. On the challenge to Smith's charismatic leadership, see Vogel, *Religious Seekers*, 106-12.

effects of the spirit of God, whilst there are others that think their [sic] is no manifestation connected with it at all," he wrote. The Latter-day Saints believe in the gifts of the Holy Ghost but believe in them "rationally, reasonably, consistently, and scripturally, and not according to the wild vagaries, foolish notions and traditions of men."¹³ Mormons thus accepted such scriptural gifts of the spirit as tongues, interpretation of tongues, discernment, prophecy, healing but rejected such excesses as "jerk[ing]" and "bark[ing]." This position was not unlike that of Secker Roger Williams or moderate revivalist Jonathan Edwards who advised that "gifts [of the spirit] were to be exercised with prudence, because God was not the author of confusion but of peace."¹⁴

When admonishing members in Amherst, Ohio, in mid-1831, Jared Carter and Sylvester Smith referred to the May 1831 revelation. But not all the members accepted their instruction regarding spiritual gifts.¹⁵ The revelation had mentioned excommunication as the spiritual weapon to combat spiritual excesses (D&C 50:6-9); it may have been in this case as well, but Church records for this period are incomplete and the next developments in the Amherst situation are unknown. Perhaps Smith was referring to Amherst when he later remarked: "Those members that were exercised with it [a false spirit] were tried for their fellowship; and those that would not repent and forsake it were cut off. . . . The spirit was rebuked, and put down, and those who would not submit to rule and good order, were disfellowshipped."¹⁶

¹³ Joseph Smith, "Gifts of the Holy Ghost," *Times and Seasons* 3 (15 June 1842): 823.

¹⁴ Jonathan Edwards, *The Great Awakening*, edited by C. C. Goen, Vol. 4, in John F. Smith, ed., *The Works of Jonathan Edwards*, 5 vols. (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1972), 4:108. Smith's restraint of the Ohio Saints was one element of a general shift to a more institutionally based authority. See Vogel, *Religious Seekers*, especially chaps. 5 and 6.

¹⁵ Jared Carter, Journal, 4-5, LDS Church Archives. Cf. Milton V. Backman, Jr., *The Heavens Resound: A History of the Latter-day Saints in Ohio, 1830-1838* (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book Co., 1983), 62; also Journal History of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints (chronology of typed entries and newspaper clippings, 1830-present), July 1831, LDS Church Archives.

¹⁶ Smith, "Try the Spirits," 747.

NEW YORK AND PENNSYLVANIA BRANCHES

While Smith was attempting to regulate spiritual gifts in Ohio, the Saints in New York and Pennsylvania were becoming proficient glossolalists. In the fall of 1831, Mormon missionaries from Pennsylvania visited the home of Phineas H. Young in Victor, New York. "I saw and heard the gifts of the spirit manifested by the Elders," recalled Heber C. Kimball, who was present. "For they spoke in tongues and interpreted, which tended to strengthen my faith. Brigham Young and myself were constrained, by the Spirit, to bear testimony of the truth, and when we did this, the power of God rested upon us."¹⁷ These missionaries, according to Kimball, were Eleazer Miller, Elial Strong, Alpheus Gifford, Enos Curtis, and Daniel Bowen.

Within a few months, in January 1832 Heber C. Kimball, Brigham Young and his brothers Phineas, Lorenzo, and Joseph, and John P. Green contacted at least one of these missionaries again. They made a trip from western New York to Columbia, Pennsylvania, where a branch of the Church had been organized with Alpheus Gifford as president. During their six-day visit, the visitors "heard them speak in tongues, interpret and prophecy, which truly caused us to rejoice and praise the Lord."¹⁸ According to a late reminiscence of his son, Gifford's gift of tongues included xenoglossia.¹⁹ Kimball, who joined the Church after the suppression of glossolalia in Ohio, believed the Pennsylvania branch was "the first Branch of the Church that received the gift of tongues."²⁰

¹⁷ Heber C. Kimball, "History of Brigham Young," *Millennial Star* 26 (30 July 1864): 488. Kimball's history was published serially in the *Star* under the title "History of Brigham Young" and should not be confused with Young's history published under the same title, also in the *Millennial Star*.

¹⁸ Kimball, "History of Brigham Young," 504. A non-Mormon resident of Bradford County, Pennsylvania, reported tongues among local Mormons in August 1832 (*Boston Recorder*, 10 October 1832).

¹⁹ As summarized in Joseph Smith, Jr., *History of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints*, edited by B. H. Roberts, 7 vols., 2nd ed. rev. (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book, 1948 printing), 4:110 and 485, notes.

²⁰ Kimball, "History of Brigham Young," 535. Brigham Young agreed the Columbia Branch was "the first in the Church who received the gift of tongues."

After the return of Kimball and the Youngs to western New York, they again received a visit from members of the Pennsylvania branch; Brigham Young and Heber C. Kimball were baptized on 14 and 15 April 1832 respectively. Soon after, Kimball reported, "we received the gift of tongues and interpretation."²¹ Brigham Young gave further details of this incident: "A few weeks after my baptism I was at brother Kimball's house one morning, and while family prayer was being offered up, brother Alpheus Gifford commenced speaking in tongues. Soon the Spirit come on me, and I spoke in tongues, and we thought only of the day of Pentecost, when the Apostles were clothed upon with cloven tongues of fire."²² According to Kimball, the Mendon branch was the second in the Church to experience glossolalia.²³

Brigham Young and Heber C. Kimball soon organized branches of the Church in Avon and Genesee, New York. Kimball reported that when he confirmed the new members that "immediately the Holy Ghost fell upon them and several commenced speaking in tongues before they arose from their knees, and we had a joyful time; some ten or twenty spake in tongues, neither of whom had ever heard any person speak in tongues, they being the first baptized in that place."²⁴

BRIGHAM YOUNG AND THE RESURGENCE OF 'TONGUES

In September 1832 Heber C. Kimball and Brigham and Joseph Young started for Kirtland to visit the Mormon prophet. Along the way they visited some branches of the Church, before whom Brigham Young spoke in tongues. "Some pronounced it

Brigham Young, "History of Brigham Young," *Millennial Star* 25 (4 July 1863): 424.

²¹ Kimball, "History of Brigham Young," 535.

²² Brigham Young, "History of Brigham Young," *Millennial Star*, 439. While Brigham Young's history dates acquiring this gift a few weeks after his baptism, Ronald K. Esplin has argued that the event occurred a few months later. Ronald K. Esplin, "The Emergence of Brigham Young and the Twelve to Mountain Leadership, 1830-1841" (Ph.D. diss., Brigham Young University, 1981), 133, n. 4.

²³ Kimball, "History of Brigham Young," 535.

²⁴ *Ibid.*, 530.

genuine and from the Lord," he recalled, "and others pronounced it of the Devil."²⁵ Benjamin F. Johnson, who received his information from Lyman R. Sherman, reported in 1903 that when the group stopped at Sherman's home in Pomfret, New York, a lively discussion about spiritual gifts took place, during which time "the Spirit came upon Brother Sherman in mighty pow[er] and he opened his mouth in an unknown tongue to the great surprise & joy of all."²⁶ Perhaps in an effort to promote Brigham Young's prominence in spiritual gifts, an early draft of Young's history contradicts Johnson's reminiscence, stating that it was Sherman who pronounced Young's gift "from the Devil, and said Joseph the Prophet would oppose it."²⁷

When Kimball and the Youngs arrived at Kirtland in early November 1832, they visited Joseph Smith. Smith "called upon me [Brigham Young] to pray; in my prayer I spoke in tongues. As soon as we arose from our knees the brethren flocked around him [Smith], and asked his opinion concerning the gift of tongues that was upon me. He told them it was the pure Adamic language. Some said to him they expected he would condemn the gift brother Brigham had, but he said, 'No, it is of God, and the time will come when brother Brigham Young will preside over this Church.'"²⁸ Kimball also remembered, "Brother Brigham spoke in tongues before brother Joseph, it being the first time he had heard any one speak in tongues; he [Smith] testified that the gift was

²⁵ Young, "History of Brigham Young," *Millennial Star*, 439.

²⁶ See Dean R. Zimmerman, *I Knew the Prophets: An Analysis of the Letter of Benjamin F. Johnson to George F. Gibbs, Reporting Doctrinal Views of Joseph Smith and Brigham Young* (Bountiful, Utah: Horizon Publishers, 1976), 55-56. Johnson said that this event was "told me [by] Bro Shuman at near the time of their nuptials."

²⁷ Brigham Young, "History of Brigham Young," MS no. 2, unpaginated, LDS Church Archives. See also *Wilford Woodruff's Journal, 1833-1898*, typescript, edited by Scott G. Kenney, 9 vols. (Midvale, Utah: Signature Books, 1983-85), 1:120-21, recording an incident on 8 January 1837 when Lyman Sherman spoke in tongues.

²⁸ Young, "History of Brigham Young," *Millennial Star*, 439. Young reported that the statement about his presidency was made in his absence. Thomas Bullock added a nearly identical statement in Joseph Smith's *History (History of the Church, 1:296-97)*. Jensen, *Papers of Joseph Smith*, 386 n. 2.

from God, and spoke in tongues himself."²⁹ Although designed to establish Young's preeminence, Kimball's claim that Smith had never heard tongues spoken until his encounter with Young is almost certainly an error; nevertheless the early draft of Young's history reports that Smith said:

"Brethren I shall never oppose anything that comes from the Lord. that tongue is from God and I know it, for I asked the Lord to shew me what it was, and he has shewn me it is by his gift and power, and the same spirit and gift is upon me, and I wish to speak in an unknown tongue;" which he did and then interpreted, declaring it was the pure language which he spoke, and exhorted the brethren to seek after that gift of tongues and the interpretation.³⁰

If Smith's endorsement of Young's gift and encouragement of its practice bewildered some of the recently restrained Ohio members, they quickly recovered, for the practice of speaking in tongues began immediately to flourish in the Church. "Soon the gift of tongues became general in the Church in Kirtland," Kimball recalled.³¹ An examination of various contemporary accounts reveals that the practice of glossolalia was not an isolated or infrequent occurrence but rather a widespread, persistent, and integral feature of early Mormon religious experience.

Unlike former manifestations, this resurgence of glossolalia was both practiced and promoted by Joseph Smith and other Church leaders in Kirtland. On the day following Young's interview with Smith, Young noted in his history that a meeting was

²⁹ Kimball, "History of Brigham Young," 535.

³⁰ Young, "History of Brigham Young," MS no. 1, unpaginated, LDS Church Archives. Brigham Young displayed his gift of glossolalia on several subsequent occasions—in one instance reportedly conversing with the Utah Indians in their own language. Charles C. Rich, *Diary*, 24 April 1836, LDS Church Archives; Willford Woodruff, *Journal*, 29 December 1846, LDS Church Archives, cited in D. Michael Quinn, "Brigham Young: Man of Spirit," *Ensign* (August 1977): 34, 37 n. 2 and n. 3; and [Conference Report], *Messenger and Advocate* 2 (March 1836): 281. See also Elden J. Watson, ed., *Manuscript History of Brigham Young, 1846-1847* (Salt Lake City: Elden J. Watson, 1971), 486, where Young recorded on 29 December 1846: "I spoke in tongues and conversed with Elder Kimball in an unknown tongue."

³¹ Kimball, "History of Brigham Young," 535.

held in which Joseph Smith, Hyrum Smith, and many others spoke in tongues.³² On 14 November 1832, Zebedee Coltrin recorded that he went to Kirtland and visited "Joseph Smith and heard him speak with tongues and sing in tongues also."³³ At a Church conference held on 22 January 1833, Joseph Smith

spoke to the conference in another tongue, and was followed in the same gift by Brother Zebedee Coltrin, and he by Brother William Smith, after which the Lord poured out His Spirit in a miraculous manner, until all the Elders spake in tongues, and several members, both male and female exercised the same gift. Great and glorious were the divine manifestations of the Holy Ghost. Praises were sung to God and the Lamb; speaking and praying, all in tongues, occupied the conference until a late hour at night, so rejoiced were we at the return of these long absent blessings.³⁴

On 27 February 1833, David W. Patten "sung in tongues." The song, "translated" by Sidney Rigdon contained the "Mysteries of God, As revealed to Enoch, on the Mount Mehujah" relating latter-day events (cf. Moses 7).³⁵

³² Young, "History of Brigham Young," MS no. 1, unpaginated.

³³ Zebedee Coltrin, Journal, 14 November 1832, LDS Church Archives.

³⁴ *History of the Church*, 1:323. The reference to the practice of glossolalia by "both male and female" should stand as a corrective to the assumption that glossolalia was limited to the male Mormon priesthood. In fact, Joseph Smith approved of and encouraged its practice by Elizabeth Ann Whitney, wife of Newel K. Whitney, who received the gift of singing in tongues in late 1832 or early 1833 and continued demonstrating her talent for glossolalia until her death in 1882. On one occasion Smith reportedly explained that her song was in the pure Adamic language, promised that she would never lose her gift as long as she remained faithful, and dubbed her "the sweet songstress of Zion." Andrew Jenson, *Latter-day Saint Biographical Encyclopedia*, 4 vols. (Salt Lake City: Western Epics, 1971 ed.), 3:563-64. See also Davis Bitton, *Guide to Mormon Diaries and Autobiographies* (Provo, Utah: Brigham Young University, 1977), 379.

³⁵ "Kirtland Revelation Book," 48-49, LDS Church Archives, records the text of a song "Sung by the gift of Tongues & Translated." A drastically altered version of the song appears on a broadside titled: "Mysteries of God, As revealed to Enoch, on the Mount Mehujah, and sung in tongues by Elder D[avid] W. Patton [sic], of the 'Church of Latter Day Saints,' (who fell a Martyr to the cause of Christ, in the Missouri persecution,) and interpreted by Elder [Sidney] Rigdon" (n.p.: n. pub., n.d.); LDS Church Archives; photocopy, Special Collections, Harold B. Lee Library, Brigham Young University, Provo, Utah. The broadside necessarily dates

The reoccurrence of glossolalia was not a short-lived phenomenon. Zebedee Coltrin noted in his journal between November 1832 and October 1833 several meetings at which tongues was manifested.³⁶ Gideon Carter reported in May 1833 that the Kirtland Church was "sharing bountifully in the blessings of the Lord, and many have the gift of tongues and some the interpretation thereof."³⁷ About this same time, Gideon also wrote to his brother John, then in Missouri, repeating that elders in Kirtland "speak with tongues & he in four different ones."³⁸ During the summer of 1833, Joseph Noble recorded, "Brother Brigham Young came from Canada to Kirtland and had some four or five very interesting meetings. The power of God was poured out upon us, so that we spake with other tongues and prophesied as the spirit gave utterance."³⁹

If Smith's acceptance of Brigham Young's gift and his subsequent encouragement of the practice ran counter to Mormon expectations, it was just as confusing to outsiders like Eber D. Howe, who remarked satirically in 1834: "On the opening of the year 1833, the 'gift of tongues' again made its appearance at [Mormon] head-quarters, and from thence extended to all their branches in different parts. Whether the languages now introduced, differed materially from those practiced two or three years previous, (and pronounced to be of the Devil,) we have not been informed."⁴⁰

to after Patten's death on 24 October 1838 and before Rigdon's excommunication in September 1844.

³⁶ Zebedee Coltrin, Journal, 14, 17, 18 November 1832, 24 January 1833, 10 March 1833, and 17 October 1833, LDS Church Archives. According to Coltrin, Smith encouraged tongues among members of the School of the Prophets in Kirtland, after which "the gift of tongues and prophecy rested upon the greater part of the brethren present." Coltrin, "Address at a Meeting of High Priests in Spanish Fork, Utah," 5 February 1878, Zebedee Coltrin Papers, LDS Church Archives.

³⁷ Gideon H. Carter, Letter to Missouri Brethren, dated May 1833, Kirtland, Ohio, *Evening and Morning Star*, July 1833, 108.

³⁸ John S. Carter, Diary, LDS Church Archives, cited in Bitton, *Guide to Mormon Diaries and Autobiographies*, 62.

³⁹ Joseph Bates Noble, Autobiography, unpaginated, LDS Church Archives.

⁴⁰ E. D. Howe, *Mormonism Unveiled [step]: or, A Faithful Account of That*

TONGUES AND MISSOURI DIFFICULTIES

Official approval in Ohio encouraged the spread of glossolalia to the second center of Mormon population in Missouri. John Whitmer, who settled with a Mormon colony on the Little Blue River near Independence, Missouri, recalled that "in June, 1833, we received the gift of tongues in Zion."⁴¹ Writing from Missouri the following month, John Whitmer declared: "The gifts are breaking forth in a marvelous manner. . . . God is pouring out his Spirit upon his people." In the same letter, William W. Phelps added: "Everyone that is a Saint or nearly so . . . speaks in tongues. Br. David [Whitmer] says he can speak in all the tongues on earth, we shall probably begin to worship here in tongues tomorrow."⁴²

On 31 August 1833, Bishop Edward Partridge, then in Missouri, wrote: "Many speak with new tongues, or in other languages; some speak in a number of different languages shortly after they receive the gift; others are confined to one or two. . . . Some have the gift of interpretation and some have not, as yet. . . . Some speak the pure language already. Songs are sung in unknown tongues."⁴³ The record of a meeting held in Independence on 11 September states that "a Hymn [was] sung by Br W W Phelps in tongues and interpreted by Lyman [Wight] . . . concerning the travelling of the Nephites their toils troubles & tribulations &c."⁴⁴ In a late reminiscence, Mary Elizabeth Rollins Lightner remarked that while living in Missouri, she "interpreted one of Oliver Cowdery's sermons," apparently into tongues. After the meeting,

Singular Imposition and Delusion, from Its Rise to the Present Time (Painesville, Ohio: E. D. Howe, 1834), 132.

⁴¹ As quoted in McKiernan and Launius, *Early Latter Day Saint History*, 89.

⁴² John Whitmer, Letter to Oliver Cowdery and Joseph Smith, 29 July 1833, Joseph Smith Papers, LDS Church Archives, quoted in Donald Q. Cannon and Lyndon W. Cook, eds., *Far West Record: Minutes of The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, 1830-1844* (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book Co., 1983), 63 n. 2.

⁴³ Edward Partridge, Letter to Dear Friends and Neighbors, 31 August 1833, Independence, Missouri; published in *Messenger and Advocate* 1 (January 1835): 60.

⁴⁴ Cannon and Cook, *Far West Record*, 66; cf. *History of the Church*, 1:409.

Lightner recalled, an Indian agent "asked me and said he knew what I said and wanted to know where I learned the [Indian] language."⁴⁵

Lightner was censured when, evidently in 1833, she interpreted a statement in tongues as saying that the Saints would be driven out of Zion. "A great cry was raised by the High Council," which wrote a letter to Joseph Smith in Ohio complaining that Lightner "was talking with an evil spirit." Lightner later took pride in the fact that her prediction subsequently proved true and recorded that Joseph Smith vindicated her prediction.⁴⁶

Frederick G. Williams recorded on 10 October 1833 that the interpretation of someone speaking in tongues claimed "that Zion would be delivered by judgments . . . that if we will not fight for ourselves, the Indians will fight for us." Williams commented, "Though all this may be true, yet, it is not needful that it should be spoken, for it is of no service to the Saints, and has a tendency to stir up the people to anger."⁴⁷ This indeed had been the case, for in July 1833 when the citizens of Jackson County produced their anti-Mormon manifesto, they listed glossolalia among the Mormon offenses. According to this document, the Mormons "openly blaspheme the Most High God, and cast contempt on His holy religion, . . . by pretending to speak unknown tongues, by direct inspiration, and by diverse pretenses derogatory to God and religion, and to the utter subversion of human reason."⁴⁸

On 2 July 1833, Joseph Smith and his counselors wrote to the Church in Missouri: "As to the gift of tongues, all we can say is, that in this place [Kirtland], we have received it as the ancients

⁴⁵ "Diary of Mary Elizabeth Rollins Lightner," 6, typescript, Special Collections, Lee Library, Brigham Young University, Provo, Utah. This reminiscence was apparently written after the turn of the century. In a letter to Emmeline B. Wells in the summer of 1905, Lightner answers a number of Wells's questions relating to early Mormon history, saying, "My journal got burned up, so cannot remember dates." Lightner, Letter to E. B. Wells, Summer 1905, 4, photocopy, Special Collections, Lee Library.

⁴⁶ Lightner, "Diary," 6.

⁴⁷ *History of the Church*, 1:419.

⁴⁸ *Ibid.*, 375-76.

did: we wish you, however, to be careful lest in this you be deceived. . . . Satan will no doubt trouble you about the gift of tongues, unless you are careful."⁴⁹ When the Missouri High Council met on 21 August 1833, there was "much consultation concerning the gift of tongues."⁵⁰ Williams, continuing his October 1833 letter, warned the Missouri Saints in his capacity as Joseph Smith's second counselor: "No prophecy spoken in tongues should be made public, for this reason:—Many who pretended to have the gift of interpretation are liable to be mistaken, and do not give the true interpretation of what is spoken; therefore, great care should be taken as respects this thing, but, if any speak in tongues a word of exhortation, or doctrine, or the principles of the Gospel, etc., let it be interpreted for the edification of the Church."⁵¹

Following the expulsion of the Mormons from Jackson County in November 1833, the high council ordered the Missouri branches to refrain from speaking in tongues for an unspecified period of time. Despite this directive, several members of the "Hulet Branch" continued the practice of speaking in tongues.⁵² The resulting confrontation between branch members and the high council illustrates the tension between individual charisma and institutional demands.

On 31 July 1834, Samuel Brown, a member of the Hulet Branch, was called before the high council in Missouri for encouraging the practice of tongues contrary to the council's directive and for ordaining Sylvester Hulet a high priest without official approval. Brown explained that he understood the council's order not as a ban but as a caution to use the gift with wisdom; he had ordained Hulet after being instructed to do so through a manifestation in tongues. The council declared Hulet's ordination void

⁴⁹ *Ibid.*, 369.

⁵⁰ Cannon and Cook, *Far West Record*, 63.

⁵¹ *History of the Church*, 1:419.

⁵² The wording in the *Far West Record* implies that all the Missouri branches were advised to discontinue the practice of tongues while the Church was in a "state of captivity" and that only the Hulet Branch resisted the directive. Cannon and Cook, *Far West Record*, 80.

and ordered Brown to repent and to surrender his high priest's license.⁵³

On 6 August 1834, the council investigated reports that Hulet was defiantly continuing the practice of speaking in tongues with Sally Crandall acting as interpreter. Hulet and Crandall had accurately predicted that the Mormons in Jackson County would be driven to Clay County and there experience further persecution. Feeling that their gift was of divine origin, they asserted that "they would not receive the teachings of ordained members even br[other]. Joseph Smith jr. unless it agreed with their gifts." Lyman Leonard, another member of the Hulet Branch, reportedly said, "if it was necessary to lay aside the gifts for a season they would receive a knowledge of it through the gifts." The council concluded that the Hulet Branch had "imbibed certain principles concerning the gifts that are thought not to be correct by the greater part of the rest of the Church, which principles seem to have a tendency to cause a split and disunion in the Church." The council condemned the use of tongues in the Hulet Branch and discussed the matter with branch members at some length; the branch eventually accepted the decision of the council.⁵⁴

The Hulet Branch was silenced because glossolalia provided revelation independently of established Church leaders. Despite the accuracy of the predictions, the high council undoubtedly interpreted such predictions as a challenge to Smith's charismatic powers and the Church's program to establish Zion, build a millennial temple, and prepare for Jesus' return. The branch members' submission indicates that Smith's efforts to institutionalize authority were succeeding. Following these incidents, the high council in Missouri apparently maintained such strict control over the use of tongues that one of the residents observed in 1838 that members of the high council "were alone invested with the power of [among other things] prophesying, receiving revelations

⁵³ *History of the Church*, 2:136-38; Cannon and Cook, *Far West Record*, 77-84.

⁵⁴ Cannon and Cook, *Far West Record*, 89-90, 96; cf. *History of the Church*, 2:139-40.

from heaven, speaking in unknown tongues, and working miracles."⁵⁵

Shortly after the Hulet Branch/high council confrontation, Joseph Smith took occasion to further define the institutional limits of glossolalia. At a conference of elders held on 8 September 1834 at New Portage, Ohio, Smith described a case of tongues in a Church court, stating that the gift "was particularly instituted for the preaching of the Gospel to other nations and languages, but it was not given for the government of the Church."⁵⁶ Thus glossolalia was not strictly banned or prohibited, but was redefined so as not to threaten institutional stability.

TONGUES IN OTHER AREAS

Despite the restrictions in Missouri, glossolalia continued to thrive in the Church in other areas during the same period. In 1834 a branch was organized in Freedom, New York, with Warren A. Cowdery as president. "My early remembrances," Samuel Miles recalled, "consist in attending our meetings and prayer meetings where the gifts of tongues was made manifest and notably the interpretation of tongues by Eunice Sawyer a young woman who had received the gospel the only one of her family."⁵⁷ Benjamin Brown, who was looking for a Church in which spiritual gifts were practiced, attended a Mormon meeting in New York state about 1835 during which he said, "I beheld a manifestation of the gifts of prophecy and tongues, and received the latter myself."⁵⁸

Joseph Smith even encouraged the practice of glossolalia outside Missouri. Edward Stevenson recalled that during a visit to Pontiac, Michigan, in October 1834, Joseph Smith promised the

⁵⁵ William Swartzell, *Mormonism Exposed, Being a Journal of a Residence in Missouri from the 28th of May to the 20th of August, 1838* (Pekin, Ohio: William Swartzell, 1840), 14.

⁵⁶ *History of the Church*, 2:162.

⁵⁷ "Sketch of the Life of Samuel Miles," typescript, Utah State Historical Society, Salt Lake City.

⁵⁸ Benjamin Brown, *Testimonies for the Truth* (Liverpool: S. W. Richards, 1853), 7. For an anecdote about a Mormon woman who spoke in tongues near Rome, New York, see Joseph Rogers, affidavit in Arthur Deming's *Naked Truths About Mormonism* 2 (April 1888): 1.

Salts that spiritual gifts would come to the faithful. Soon afterward Mary Curtis, daughter of Joseph Curtis, became the first to speak in tongues, followed by Elijah Fordham, Joseph Wood, and others. On one occasion, after Fordham had spoken in tongues, two French travelers confirmed that he had preached the gospel in French.⁵⁹

Church leaders not only encouraged glossolalia outside Missouri but practiced it themselves in Kirtland during this period. On 25 October 1835, Joseph Smith attended a prayer meeting in Kirtland during which "the Lord pour[ed] out his spirit and some glorious things were spoken in the gift of tongues and interpret[ed] concerning the redemption of Zion."⁶⁰ At a meeting held on 17 January 1836 at the Kirtland school house, Joseph Smith's history records that "the gift of tongues came on us also, like the rushing of a mighty wind, and my soul was filled with the glory of God."⁶¹ And at a priesthood meeting held on 22 January 1836 in the Kirtland Temple, Joseph Smith's journal notes, "the gift of tongues fell upon us in mighty pow[er], angels mingled their voices with ours, while their presence was in our midst and unceasing praises swelled our bosoms for the space of half an hour."⁶² Bishop Edward Partridge noted in his journal on 29 January 1836 that glossolalia was occasionally practiced during meetings of Church officers in Kirtland.⁶³

The dedication of the Kirtland Temple, held 27 March 1836, was an occasion for the outpouring of various spiritual manifestations including tongues. In his dedicatory prayer, Joseph Smith asked: "Let it be fulfilled upon them, as upon those on the day of

⁵⁹ Edward Stevenson, *Reminiscences of Joseph, the Prophet, and the Coming Forth of the Book of Mormon* (Salt Lake City: Edward Stevenson, 1893), 4-5; and Stevenson, "The Three Witnesses to the Book of Mormon," *Millennial Star* 48 (31 May 1886): 342.

⁶⁰ Scott H. Faulring, ed., *An American Prophet's Record: The Diaries and Journals of Joseph Smith* (Salt Lake City: Signature Books, 1987), 40.

⁶¹ *History of the Church*, 2:376.

⁶² Faulring, *An American Prophet's Record*, 121.

⁶³ Edward Partridge, Journal, 29 January 1836, typescript, LDS Church Archives. See also W. W. Phelps to Sally Phelps, 13 January 1836 (?), W. W. Phelps Correspondence, LDS Church Archives.

Pentecost; let the gift of tongues be poured out upon thy people, even cloven tongues as of fire, and the interpretation thereof" (D&C 109:36). The official account reported that "Elder B[righam]. Young, one of the Twelve, gave a short address in tongues; Elder D[avid]. W. Patten interpreted and gave a short exhortation in tongues himself."⁶⁴

In the evening after the dedication, Joseph Smith met with the various quorums of the priesthood and "gave them instructions in relation to the spirit of prophecy, and called upon the congregation to speak, and not to fear to prophesy good concerning the Saints. . . . Do not quench the Spirit, for the first one that opens his mouth shall receive the Spirit of prophecy." According to Smith's history, "Brother George A. Smith arose and began to prophesy, when a noise was heard like the sound of a rushing mighty wind, which filled the Temple, and all the congregation simultaneously arose, being moved upon by an invisible power; many began to speak in tongues and prophesy; others saw glorious visions; and I beheld the Temple was filled with angels, which fact I declared to the congregation."⁶⁵ Benjamin Brown, who was at the priesthood meeting, recalled: "The Spirit of the Lord, as on the day of Pentecost, was profusely poured out. Hundreds of Elders spoke in tongues, but many of them being young in the Church, and never witnessed the manifestation of this gift before, felt alarmed. This caused the Prophet Joseph Smith to pray the Lord to withhold the Spirit. Joseph then instructed them on the nature of the gift of tongues, and the operation of the Spirit generally."⁶⁶

Following the outpouring and official encouragement at the Kirtland Temple dedication, glossolalia thrived in the Church. According to Eliza R. Snow, glossolalia became a common practice at the fast meetings that were held in the temple from 10 A.M. to 4 P.M. on the first Thursday of each month. Snow remarked that "on those occasions the gifts of the gospel were powerfully manifest—speaking and singing in tongues, the interpretation of

⁶⁴ [Conference Report], *Messenger and Advocate* 2 (March 1836): 281.

⁶⁵ *History of the Church*, 2:428.

⁶⁶ Brown, *Testimonies for the Truth*, 10-11.

tongues, the gift of healing and prophecy, were freely exercised. These monthly fast meetings were so interesting, and so enjoyable, that people came long distances to attend them."⁶⁷

In 1837 Apostle Wilford Woodruff occasionally noted instances of glossolalia at meetings. On 6 April 1837, for instance, Woodruff recorded that after sacrament meetings in the Kirtland Temple "all had the privilege of returning to th[ei]r homes that felt disposed & the rest might spend the night in the house of the LORD in prayer & exhortation, praise & thanks giving . . . much Prophecy was uttered upon the heads of many of the Saints in other languages & was interpret[ed]."⁶⁸ Eliza R. Snow also described these late-night meetings in the Kirtland Temple, stating that members were allowed more freely "to speak or sing in tongues, prophesy, pray, interpret tongues, exhort or preach, however they might feel moved upon to do."⁶⁹

During this period, Mormons outside Kirtland also practiced glossolalia. An account of a Church conference held on 6 October 1837 in West Township, Columbia County, Ohio, described it as "a little pentecost indeed: some spake in tongues, and some prophesied, [and] some interpreted."⁷⁰ Benjamin Brown described some meetings held in his home in Portland, Ohio, in the late 1830s, during which the members were "richly blest with the various gifts of the Spirit—tongues, interpretations, prophecy, &c." On one occasion the interpretation of tongues revealed that the Saints in Missouri were being killed, which was later confirmed.⁷¹ Margrette Young of Pennsylvania attended a baptismal service about 1839 in which "Elder [Almon W.] Babbitt then stepped upon a large stone that was near and spoke in tongues. . . . When he ceased speaking he then gave them the

⁶⁷ Eliza R. Snow, *Biography and Family Record of Lorenzo Snow* (Salt Lake City: Deseret News Co., 1884), 12–13.

⁶⁸ Woodruff, *Wilford Woodruff's Journal*, 1:120–21, 126, 135, 146. For entries of glossolalia, see entries of 6, 8 January 1837, 23 March 1837, and 6, 20 April 1837. The quotation is from 6 April 1837.

⁶⁹ Edward W. Tullidge, *The Wives of Martin Harris* (New York: Tullidge and Crandall, 1877), 100.

⁷⁰ *Elders' Journal*, October 1837, 15.

⁷¹ Brown, *Testimonies for the Truth*, 12.

meaning thereof, which was so beautiful, and filled with the Spirit of God, that every eye was wet with tears."⁷² Glossolalia apparently flourished in the relaxed environment following the Kirtland Temple outpouring.

REDEFINING TONGUES IN NAUVOO

Lee Copeland's study suggests that Church leaders emphasized xenoglossia immediately following the outpouring of glossolalia at the Kirtland Temple dedication.⁷³ However, official discouragement and redefinition of glossolalia did not begin until 1839 in Nauvoo, Illinois.

After the Kirtland flowering of glossolalia, which lasted until Smith's difficulties with dissenters in the spring of 1837 and his subsequent removal from Kirtland later that year, he again concentrated on discouraging and rationalizing tongues. In June 1839 at a meeting of the Quorum of the Twelve held at Commerce (Nauvoo), Illinois, he reinterpreted tongues as xenoglossia: "Tongues were given for the purpose of preaching among those whose language is not understood; as on the day of Pentecost, etc., and it is not necessary for tongues to be taught to the Church particularly, for any man that has the Holy Ghost, can speak of the things of God in his own tongue as well as to speak in another."⁷⁴ The next month, he instructed the Twelve and Seventies preparing for missions in Europe and other countries to "speak not in the gift of tongues without understanding it, or without interpretation. The devil can speak in tongues. . . . Let no one speak in tongues unless he interpret, except by the consent of the one who is placed to preside."⁷⁵ In making this statement, Smith was reinforcing the 1831 policy authorizing the presiding officer in each branch to discern the gift of spirits "lest there shall be any . . . professing and yet not be of God" (D&C 46:27).

⁷² Margrette W. Pierce Whitesides Young, *Autobiography*, LDS Church Archives, quoted in Cannon and Cook, *Far West Record*, 63 n. 2.

⁷³ Copeland, "Speaking in Tongues," 27-28.

⁷⁴ *History of the Church*, 3:379.

⁷⁵ *Ibid.*, 3:392.

In December 1841, at a Church conference held in Smith's Nauvoo home, Joseph Smith taught:

The gift of tongues by the power of the Holy Ghost in the Church, is for the benefit of the servants of God to preach to unbelievers, as on the day of Pentecost. When devout men from every nation shall assemble to hear the things of God, let the Elders preach to them in their own mother tongue, whether it is German, French, Spanish or 'Irish,' or any other, and let those interpret who understand the language spoken, in their own mother tongue, and this is what the Apostle meant in First Corinthians [15:27].⁷⁶

Thus Smith's novel interpretation of Paul's instruction to the Corinthians allowed him to deny the legitimacy of ecstatic tongues, while at the same time limiting glossolalic practice to xenoglossia, or the ability to speak foreign languages.

On 1 May 1842, Joseph Smith instructed the women's Relief Society regarding the gift of tongues: "If any have a matter to reveal, let it be in your own tongue. Do not indulge too much in the gift of tongues, or the devil will take advantage of the innocent. You may speak in tongues for your own comfort but I lay this down for a rule that if any thing is taught by the gift of tongues, it is not to be received for doctrine."⁷⁷ In June 1842, Joseph Smith instructed: "Be not so curious about tongues, do not speak in tongues except there be an interpreter present; the ultimate design of tongues is to speak to foreigners, and if persons are very anxious to display their intelligence, let them speak to such in their own tongues."⁷⁸

Joseph Smith's emphasis on xenoglossia evidently suc-

⁷⁶ Ibid., 1:485-86. Wilford Woodruff recorded Smith's statement in his journal as follows: "Speak not in tongues to your own nation but to those of another tongue then if one of another tongue interprets it will be a sign to the unbelievers, & then it would condemn those who heard if they rejected it for the Lord does not work in vain, Joseph spoke upon the 14th Corinthians." Woodruff, *Wilford Woodruff's Journal*, 26 December 1841, 2:144.

⁷⁷ Andrew F. Ehat and Lyndon W. Cook, comps. and eds., *The Words of Joseph Smith: The Contemporary Accounts of the Nauvoo Discourses of the Prophet Joseph* (Provo, Utah: Religious Studies Center/Brigham Young University, 1980), 119.

⁷⁸ *History of the Church*, 5:31.

ceeded in dampening the practice of glossolalia to the point that we have found no examples of it in Mormon worship services during the Nauvoo period. Indeed, a survey of Nauvoo Mormon journals for the period 1839 to 1844—including the journals of Church leaders Joseph Smith, Willford Woodruff, and John Taylor—failed to yield a single instance of glossolalia. Instead, predictably, instances of xenoglossia in the Church's foreign missions can be documented.⁷⁹ While not issuing a ban on glossolalia, Smith's redefinition virtually removed its practice from Mormon worship.

Researchers of various contemporary religious groups have observed the divisive effects of glossolalia. As one study reported: "The presence of persons who speak in tongues, and groups of tongue-speakers who psychologically band together, usually created a disturbance in the mainline Protestant congregations we studied. While there were examples of Church groups which increased in numbers and strength as a result of the appearance of glossolalia, more usually friction and divisive factions developed."⁸⁰ This was evidently the situation among the Christians at Corinth (1 Cor. 14), and early Mormons followed the same pattern. A careful reading of Smith's responses reveals the kinds of problems Church leaders encountered with glossolalia. Smith was primarily concerned with controlling tongues because the interpretation could result in competing revelation. This was the case with the Hulet Branch; one can only speculate about the circumstances which evoked Smith's 1842 statement to the Relief Society that tongues could not be received for doctrine. Joseph Smith's eventual discouragement of glossolalia therefore seems inevitable if institutional integrity was to be maintained.

FURTHER DECLINE OF 'TONGUES AFTER JOSEPH SMITH'S DEATH

Despite Joseph Smith's deemphasis, glossolalia managed to survive and find occasional expression by first-generation Mormons after their removal west. In 1857 Heber C. Kimball told a

⁷⁹ Copeland's examples of xenoglossia for this period come from the Church's foreign missions. Copeland, "Speaking in Tongues," 22-23.

⁸⁰ Julian P. Kilgus, *The Psychology of Speaking in Tongues* (New York: Harper and Row, 1972), 66.

Salt Lake City congregation: "I do not speak in tongues often. Can I speak in tongues? Yes, I can speak in a good, beautiful language to this people at any time. Why? Because God gave me the gift."⁸¹ On 27 November 1880 at a Relief Society meeting in Santa Clara, Utah, Eliza R. Snow spoke in tongues and Zina D. Huntington interpreted.⁸² Heber J. Grant recalled an 1893 experience in which his wife (presumably his first wife, who died later that year) "by the gift of tongues . . . gave me a most remarkable and wonderful blessing."⁸³ On 7 May 1896, at a Relief Society meeting in Woodruff, Arizona, Hannah Savage "received the gift of tongues and the interpretation. . . . Medora Gardner testified that it was the tongue of Adam that had been given."⁸⁴ On 8 June 1901, Susa Young Gates wrote to Elmina S. Taylor describing a meeting in which she interpreted tongues.⁸⁵

Despite these occurrences, most of which, significantly, involved women, Brigham Young apparently continued Joseph Smith's policy of discouraging its practice. "Were I to permit it now," Young said to a Salt Lake City audience in 1864, "hundreds of Elders and the sisters would rise up in this congregation and speak in new tongues, and interpret as well as the learned of the age." However, Young added: "I do not permit it."⁸⁶ In 1873 T. B. H. Stenhouse, a disaffected Mormon, complained that Young was "the least desirous of listening to the exercise of this 'gift [of tongues],'" relating also an instance in which a woman glossolalist was cautioned by two of Young's wives "not to mention the circumstance, as 'Brother Young' was opposed to such manifestations."⁸⁷

⁸¹ Heber C. Kimball, 11 January 1857, *Journal of Discourses*, 26 vols. (Liverpool and London: LDS Booksellers Depot, 1855-86), 4:170.

⁸² Santa Clara [Utah] Relief Society Minutes, 1873-93, LDS Church Archives. See also *Woman's Exponent*, 15 February 1887.

⁸³ Heber J. Grant, *Gospel Standards*, compiled by G. Homer Durham (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book Co., 1976), 11.

⁸⁴ Hannah Adeline [Hatch] Savage, Journal, May 1896, LDS Church Archives.

⁸⁵ Susa Young Gates, Letter to Elmina S. Taylor, 8 June 1901, LDS Church Archives.

⁸⁶ *Journal of Discourses*, 10:324.

⁸⁷ T. B. H. Stenhouse, *The Rocky Mountain Saints: A Full and Complete History*

The decrease in spiritual gifts was noticeable enough that non-Mormon John H. Beadle of Utah, writing in 1870, remarked that "this exercise [of tongues] is a little too ridiculous, even for the Mormons at present, and is rarely heard of."⁸⁸ In 1878, Orson Pratt, who did not always agree with Young's teachings, complained about the infrequency of spiritual gifts, observing, "The reason why we have not enjoyed these more fully is, because we have not sought for them as diligently as we ought."⁸⁹

By the turn of the century, glossolalia appears to have become relatively infrequent. Ezra C. Robinson, for example, said in 1899 that although he had been "born and reared in the Church," he had "never had the privilege of hearing the gift of tongues manifested" before being called on his mission.⁹⁰ Another Mormon reported in 1904 that "he had never in his life heard anyone speak in tongues," although he had been reared in Utah.⁹¹

Although glossolalia had evidently lost its popularity, various Church leaders continued to discourage its practice. Joseph F. Smith, for example, told the Church in general conference in 1900 that "where two men or women exercise the gift of tongues by inspiration of the Spirit of God, there are a dozen perhaps who do it by the inspiration of the devil. . . . I do not want the gift of tongues except when I need it."⁹² Heber J. Grant may have valued the blessing pronounced upon him by his wife; but while he was president of the Church, the First Presidency rebuked glossolalia. In an Idaho Relief Society meeting, a Sister Nelsen, the mother of the Relief Society president, spoke in tongues after which her

of the Mormons, from the First Vision of Joseph Smith to the Last Courtship of Brigham Young (New York: D. Appleton and Co., 1873), 650 note.

⁸⁸ John H. Beadle, *Life in Utah: or, The Mysteries and Crimes of Mormonism* (Philadelphia: National Publishing Co., [1870]), 323.

⁸⁹ *Journal of Discourses*, 25:145.

⁹⁰ Ezra C. Robinson, "Evil Spirits Rebuked—The Gift of Tongues and Prophecy," *Improvement Era* 3 (November 1899): 31.

⁹¹ James X. Allen, "Passing of the Gift of Tongues," *Improvement Era* 8 (December 1904): 109.

⁹² *Report of the Semi-Annual Conference of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints*, April 1900 (Salt Lake City: Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, semi-annual), 41.

daughter interpreted, saying that the "Presidency of the Relief Society were chosen and set apart before they came into mortal life." The First Presidency instructed the stake president to inform Sister Nelsen that

the gift of tongues was given to the Church for . . . the purpose of preaching among peoples whose language is not understood. . . . This being the case, the sisters of Relief Society will readily perceive that it was entirely unnecessary for Sister Nelsen to resort to speaking in tongues on the occasion referred to, as all present spoke the same language. . . . It would be well to advise Sister Nelsen to let speaking in tongues alone and to confine her speech to her own language, and then she will be responsible for what she says.⁹³

Glossolalia is absent from contemporary Mormon practice, although there are occasional reports of its manifestation from the fringes of the Mormon community. While some have associated glossolalia with the Church's Translation Department and missionary foreign language program, genuine cases of xenoglossia, of the ability to spontaneously speak a foreign language without any prior training, if any, are extremely rare.⁹⁴ Mormon experience with glossolalia thus conforms to the tendency reported by modern researchers of "an inclination for second generation glossolalics to speak in tongues less frequently than their parents who tended to come from denominations where it was devalued."⁹⁵

RECENT RESEARCH ON GLOSSOLALIA

Since Mormon glossolalia is largely a phenomenon of the

⁹³ First Presidency, Letter to Heber Q. Hall of Boise Stake, 28 March 1923, First Presidency Letterpress Copybook, LDS Church Archives. We are indebted to Thomas G. Alexander for this source.

⁹⁴ See, for example, John E. Carr, "Do People Still Speak in Tongues Today?" *New Era* (March 1975): 48-49. The ability of some Maori saints to understand David O. McKay's address without interpreter has also been cited as a modern occurrence of tongues. Clare Middlemiss, comp., *Cherished Experiences* (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book Co., 1955), 73-74. But this case represents neither genuine glossolalia nor xenoglossia.

⁹⁵ See H. Newton Malony, "Debunking Some of the Myths About Glossolalia," *Journal of the American Scientific Affiliation* 34 (1982): 146; and V. H. Hine, "Pentecostal Glossolalia: Toward a Functional Interpretation," *Journal for the Scientific Study of Religion* (1969): 211-26.

past, it is not possible to study it in detail as researchers of current pentecostal practitioners can. Their findings, however, can be indirectly helpful in understanding early Mormon glossolalia.

If no distinction can be made between contemporary evangelical glossolalia and its nineteenth-century roots, the distinction between tongues as practiced by first-generation Mormons and their evangelical neighbors is less clear. Early Mormons themselves would have rejected any effort to distinguish between Mormon glossolalia (true) and evangelical glossolalia (false). True, early Mormons believed in true and false glossolalia, but the dividing line was not between Mormon and non-Mormon since many converts probably experienced glossolalia both before and after their conversions to Mormonism. Benjamin Brown, who witnessed Mormon glossolalia before his conversion in 1835, "treated the Elders very lightly, and replied, that as for the gift of tongues, I could speak in tongues as well as any of them."⁹⁶ Edward Partridge, who listed glossolalia as one sign of the true church, had to admit in 1833 that "many of the world even receive the Holy Ghost in a greater or less degree, but few in comparison receive the gift of the Holy Ghost, the gifts being peculiar to the true church."⁹⁷

If Mormons themselves refused to make the Mormon/non-Mormon distinction, outsiders, especially rationalists, also failed in making such distinctions. In fact, before angelic priesthood ordinations were publicly announced in September 1834, many wondered what was so unique about Mormon claims to charismatic authority. Thomas Campbell, father of well-known founder of the Disciples of Christ, Alexander Campbell, spent the winter of 1830-31 in Mentor, Ohio, and on 4 February wrote to Sidney Rigdon, complaining that Mormon claims to authority based on charismatic displays of spiritual gifts were "in no wise superior to the pretensions of the first quakers, of the French Prophets, of the Shakers, of Jemima Wilkinson, &c." Campbell criticized the Mormons for "their feigned pretensions to miraculous gifts, the gift of tongues, &c.," and challenged them to prove their possession of

⁹⁶ Brown, *Testimonies for the Truth*, 7.

⁹⁷ Edward Partridge, *Letter to Dear Friends and Neighbors*, 60.

such gifts "in three or four foreign languages."⁹⁸ Unitarian Jason Whitman observed in 1834 that Mormon enthusiasm for spiritual gifts was in no way evidence for the truth of their religion since revivalists displayed the same proofs.⁹⁹

Modern research has generally questioned the pentecostal belief that glossolalia is a true language and product of a purely religious experience. Laurence Christenson, pastor of Trinity Lutheran Church and a leading defender of the neo-Pentecostal movement, believes the current glossolalic expression "involves a supernatural manifestation of the Holy Spirit which is clearly spoken of in the Bible."¹⁰⁰ Christenson is typical of many pentecostals who vigorously reject any attempt to explain glossolalia in naturalistic terms. However, purely supernatural explanations are deficient in several areas.

First, glossolalia is not a language in the sense that it has normal semantic and syntactic structure. While disagreement exists about how humans produce glossolalia, linguists and other scholars agree that the phenomenon is a "human utterance devoid of semantic meaning or syntax." While its "phonological structure . . . makes it sound languagelike in intonation, melody, and phoneme composition," and while glossolalists typically believe their speech is genuine language, glossolalia nevertheless bears "no systematic resemblance to any natural language, living or dead."¹⁰¹ Of course it is not possible to study Mormon glossolalia

⁹⁸ As quoted in Howe, *Mormonism Unveiled*, 121.

⁹⁹ Jason Whitman, "The Book of Mormon," *The Unitarian* (January 1834): 40-50. Whitman fails to cite the Book of Mormon account of an unnamed Lamanite queen's conversion which is not dissimilar to early nineteenth-century revival experience. After hearing the preaching of Ammon, the queen and others "fell to the earth." When the queen regained her strength, she stood and "cried with a loud voice, saying: O blessed Jesus, who has saved me from an awful hell! O blessed God, have mercy on this people. And when she had said this she clasped her hands, being filled with joy, speaking many words which were not understood" (Alma 19:29-30).

¹⁰⁰ Laurence Christenson, *Speaking in Tongues* (Minneapolis: Bethany Fellowship, 1968), 18.

¹⁰¹ See Nicholas P. Spanos and Erin C. Hewitt, "Glossolalia: A Test of the 'Trance' and Psychopathology Hypothesis," *Journal of Abnormal Psychology* 88 (August 1979): 427; and William J. Samarin, *Tongues of Men and Angels: The Religious*

with the same linguistic precision as modern examples. But the few written samples of Mormon glossolalia which have survived, although of questionable accuracy, nevertheless retain some of the same features found by modern researchers.¹⁰²

Second, glossolalia is not a uniquely Christian or even a uniquely religious phenomenon. Even in New Testament times, glossolalia "was not limited to Christianity but was found in many of the religions of the ancient world."¹⁰³ Glossolalia is not only diffused among Baptists, Lutherans, Episcopalians, Methodists, and Catholics, but also among non-Christians and even non-religious persons.¹⁰⁴

Finally, within the context of the Christian tradition, glossolalia is inextricably tied to interpretation of tongues (1 Cor. 14:26; 1&C 50:31-33). Thus, even if one accepts Christenson's assertion that glossolalia should be considered a language because, like ordinary speech, it nevertheless expresses or communicates thought or feeling, it still must be rejected since tongue interpreters are entirely unable to arrive at a uniform interpretation when presented with the same phenomenon.¹⁰⁵ For example, in one denomination a skeptic rose during a tongue-speaking meeting

Language of Pentecostalism (New York: Macmillan Co., 1972), 2.

¹⁰² For examples of written glossolalia, see Howc, *Mormonism Unveiled*, 133-36; Samuel Hawthornwailhe, *Mr. Hawthornwailhe's Adventures Among the Mormons as an Elder During Eight Years* (Manchester, England: Samuel Hawthornwailhe, 1857), 89-91; J. W. Gunnison, *The Morimons: or, Latter-day Saints in the Valley of the Great Salt Lake* (Philadelphia: Lippincott, 1852), 74; D. M. S., "Early Experiences of an Elder," *Juvenile Instructor* 10 (15 May 1877): 118-19. For linguistic analysis of these sources, see Scott C. Dunn, "The Tongue of Angels? Glossolalia in the Mormon Church," in *Deseret Language and Linguistic Society Proceedings, Eighth Annual Symposium, 25-26 March 1982*, edited by Linda Hunter Adams, essay #25, pp. 1-47 (Provo, Utah: Brigham Young University, 1982).

¹⁰³ *Interpreter's Dictionary of the Bible*, 5 vols. (Nashville: Abingdon Press, 1962), 4:671.

¹⁰⁴ Samarin, *Tongues of Men and Angels*, 5; Kildahl, *Psychology of Speaking in Tongues*, chap. 1; Watson E. Mills, ed., *Speaking in Tongues: A Guide to Research on Glossolalia* (Grand Rapids, Michigan: William B. Eerdmans Publishing Co., 1986), 53-106.

¹⁰⁵ Kildahl, *Psychology of Speaking in Tongues*, 62-63.

and recited the Lord's Prayer in an African dialect which he had learned as a child, after which an interpreter of tongues arose and declared it was "a message about the imminent second coming of Christ."¹⁰⁵

While various naturalistic theories have been advanced by modern researchers to explain the production of glossolalia, none completely and accurately explains all the data. The discussion which follows summarizes the research and theories which we found most useful in understanding glossolalia among the founding Mormons.

Early theories about glossolalia production stressed the psychological state of the person. However, as George Barton Cutten pointed out many years ago, such explanations are at best only partial, since to name a psychological condition does not explain how glossolalia is produced.¹⁰⁷ Today a growing body of research and literature indicates that speaking in tongues is a learned behavior influenced by social variables. Recent experiments conducted by psychologists Nicholas Spanos and Erin Hewitt have produced impressive evidence that glossolalia is not necessarily a product of an altered state of consciousness but rather a phenomenon which "can be acquired by almost anyone who possesses the requisite motivation and who is exposed regularly to social environments that encourage such utterances."¹⁰⁸ Thus, the research of Spanos and Hewitt counters the common notion that glossolalia

¹⁰⁵ Ibid., 63.

¹⁰⁷ George Barton Cutten, *Speaking with Tongues: Historically and Psychologically Considered* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1927), discusses various psychological explanations of glossolalia. See also Kildahl, *Psychology of Speaking in Tongues*, especially chap. 4; Mills, *Speaking in Tongues*, 317-424; Felicitas D. Goodman, *Speaking in Tongues: A Cross-Cultural Study of Glossolalia* (Chicago: Chicago University Press, 1972); Goodman, "Altered Mental States: 'Style of Discourse': Reply to Samarin," *Journal for the Scientific Study of Religion* 11 (September 1972): 297-99; and Julian Jaynes, *The Origin of Consciousness in the Breakdown of the Bicameral Mind* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Co., 1976), 100-125, 357-60.

¹⁰⁸ Spanos and Hewitt, "Glossolalia," 433; and Nicholas P. Spanos, Wendy P. Cross, Mark Tappin, and Marjorie Christine, "Glossolalia as Learned Behavior: An Experimental Demonstration," *Journal of Abnormal Psychology* 95 (February 1986): 21-25; see also Mills, *Speaking in Tongues*, 425-89.

results from deep psychological or emotional forces.¹⁰⁹ This does not mean that psychological or emotional states do not effect the glossolalist. Feelings of excitement and expectation often do accompany glossolalia, but they are not necessary for the production of tongues.¹¹⁰

Did the founding Mormons have the social reinforcers for glossolalia? Although there are some instances, both Mormon and non-Mormon, where the production of tongues has resulted from an uncontrolled and unanticipated impulse, glossolalia is more typically characterized as an activity over which the speaker has considerable control.¹¹¹ Indeed, as the research of cultural anthropologists Luther Gerlach and Virginia Hine seems to indicate, "experienced practitioners can 'turn it on and off' at will."¹¹² This same observation seems to apply to Mormon glossolalia. When the high councilors in Missouri instructed the various branches in the summer of 1834 to suspend the practice of tongues and threatened excommunication for members who violated the directive, they clearly indicated their belief that tongues was a controllable phenomenon. Some Mormons claimed complete control of their gift. Heber C. Kimball, for instance, said he could "at any time" speak in tongues.¹¹³ These circumstances indicate considerable individual and social control among the Mormon glossolalists.

Recent research also seems to indicate that glossolalia is an acquired skill, that "for most people facility in speaking in tongues

¹⁰⁹ Spanos and Hewitt, "Glossolalia," 434; see also Samarin, *Tongues of Men and Angels*, 18-72; William Samarin, "Variations and Variables in Religious Glossolalia," *Languages in Society* 1 (April 1972): 123-26; Luther P. Gerlach and Virginia H. Hine, *People, Power, Change: Movements of Social Transformation* (Indianapolis: Bobbs-Merrill Co., 1970), 127; H. A. Osser, P. F. Ostwald, B. MacWhinney, and R. L. Cassey, "Glossolalic Speech from a Psycholinguistic Perspective," *Journal of Psycholinguistic Research* 2 (January 1973): 11; and Hine, "Pentecostal Glossolalia," 221.

¹¹⁰ Samarin, *Tongues of Men and Angels*, 55-58.

¹¹¹ *Ibid.*, 68-72, 142.

¹¹² Gerlach and Hine, *People, Power, Change*, 127. Samarin, *Tongues of Men and Angels*, 22-26, however, objects to this characterization.

¹¹³ *Journal of Discourses*, 4:170.

comes gradually and with much practice.* Many glossolalists openly acknowledge the role of practice in developing their gift. One evangelist, for example, noted that some tongues sound better because the speakers "practice talking and therefore they improve upon God's language."¹¹⁴ Practice seems to produce greater fluency, variety, and length of the glossolalic episode. Early Mormons actually referred to "improving the gifts."¹¹⁵ Eliza R. Snow mentioned a meeting at which "Susan N. & Martha receiv'd the gift of tongues. Sarah H. improv'd upon hers which she spoke in yes[terday] here for the first time."¹¹⁶ Heber C. Kimball observed that God gives the gifts of tongues and interpretation to the Saints, and "so long as they improve upon them they do not forfeit them. If they do not improve upon them, the devil takes the advantage and will make it appear like the gifts of God which they have possessed, as nearly as possible, and thus they go overboard."¹¹⁷

Social setting, particularly the atmosphere of "expectancy," is an important factor in triggering and reinforcing glossolalia. This expectancy, linguist William Samarin observes, is often generated by the pastor himself, who typically exhorts those present to "let [God] manifest himself to you tonight," "let the Spirit do what he wants," "yield, brother, yield," and other similar encouragements.¹¹⁸ Mormon gatherings were likewise encouraged to produce glossolalia and other spiritual phenomena. The meetings leading up to the Kirtland endowment, Joseph Smith's dedicatory prayer asking for an outpouring of the spirit and manifestation of tongues, the late-night meeting, and his instruction to "not quench the Spirit," greatly intensified an atmosphere of expectancy and anticipation. Prescindia Huntington recalled another similar incident in which Joseph Smith, Sr., "prayed for a pente-

114 Samarin, *Tongues of Men and Angels*, 68-70.

115 The Hulet Branch was investigated by the high council for "improving the gifts (that is in speaking with tongues and interpreting)." Cannon and Cook, *Far West Record*, 80.

116 "Pioneer Diary of Eliza R. Snow," *Improvement Era* 47 (March 1944): 152.

117 *Journal of Discourses*, 4:170.

118 Samarin, *Tongues of Men and Angels*, 37, 52-58, 188, 191-92.

cost, in opening the meeting, . . . [and] the power of God rested mightily upon the saints. There was poured out upon us abundantly the spirit of revelation, prophesy, and tongues."¹¹⁹ It seems reasonable to suppose that leaders played as vital a role in encouraging glossolalia as they did in suppressing the practice.

Sometimes encouragement by religious leaders is carried to the point of "coaching" or instructing members of the group how to speak in tongues. John Kildahl, for example, records an instance where a leader of a Christian group laid his hands on individuals giving them the following instruction: "Say after me what I say, and then go on speaking in the tongue that the Lord will give you." By following the leader's prompting, novices began to speak in tongues.¹²⁰ Other leaders have advised the novice to "speak whatever comes to you," or "to 'make sounds'—that in fact, any sounds will do for a beginning."¹²¹ In some instances Mormon missionaries may have similarly coached others about the production of glossolalia. E. D. Howe related that some converts in Ohio often received "a few moments instruction" to help them in the acquisition of tongues.¹²² Howe also quoted a former Mormon elder, a "Mr. Higby," who described efforts by Reynolds Cahoon and David Patten to produce glossolalia at a meeting. One of the men addressed one of the older members, saying, "If you will rise in the name of Jesus Christ, you can speak in Tongues." When the gentleman hesitated and complained of his inability, Patten urged him on, saying, "speak in the name of Jesus Christ—make some sound as you list, without further thought, and God will make it a language." After "considerable urging," the man "spoke and made some sounds, which were pronounced to be a correct tongue."¹²³

¹¹⁹ As quoted in Tullidge, *Women of Mormonism*, 208.

¹²⁰ Kildahl, *Psychology of Speaking in Tongues*, 3.

¹²¹ Samarin, *Tongues of Men and Angels*, 52.

¹²² Howe, *Mormonism Unveiled*, 133.

¹²³ Higby, who also experimented with glossolalia, eventually regarded Mormon tongues as "a mere gibberish, spoken at random and without thought." *Ibid.*, 133-34. This "Mr. Higby" is probably James Higby who was excommunicated on 23 June 1833 "for circulating false and slanderous reports, and not observing the

CONCLUSION

Despite the naturalistic explanations offered by modern researchers, glossolalists are neither deceivers nor mentally unhealthy. There can be no doubt of their sincerity, even though instances of fraud are known. Moreover, researchers have discovered that "on any broad criteria of emotional well-being, the tongue-speakers and non-tongue-speakers were about the same."¹²⁴ Mormon glossolalists were likewise sincere believers in the gift of tongues, and probably otherwise indistinguishable from non-practitioners.

Early Mormons were encouraged to exercise glossolalia by the Book of Mormon and a desire to "restore" the Church to its ancient condition. Despite early difficulties in Ohio, glossolalia became, under Joseph Smith's encouragement and leadership, a widespread feature of Mormon worship in the 1830s. Mormon practice was evidently indistinguishable from the practice of some nineteenth-century evangelicals. Moreover, Mormon glossolalia followed a predictable pattern by initially fulfilling group needs, eventually causing strife and institutional instability, being officially discouraged, and then being abandoned by second-generation Mormons. Max Weber, who believed that institutional imperatives must supersede charismatic origins to make possible the group's survival, termed this transformation the "routinization of charisma."¹²⁵ The rise and decline of Mormon glossolalia provides one interesting and somewhat exotic example of this broader pattern.

order of the gospel." *History of the Church*, 1:355-56.

¹²⁴ See Kildahl, *Psychology of Speaking in Tongues*, 48-56; see also Malony, "Debunking Some of the Myths about Glossolalia," 147.

¹²⁵ Max Weber, *The Theory of Social and Economic Organization*, edited by Talcott Parsons (New York: Oxford University Press, 1947), 363-73; see also H. H. Gerth and C. Wright Mills, eds., *From Max Weber: Essays in Sociology* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1946), 262-64; S. N. Eisenstadt, ed., *Max Weber on Charisma and Institution Building* (Chicago: University of Chicago, 1968), xx-xxii.

Backlash Against Formalism: Early Mormonism's Appeal in Jefferson County

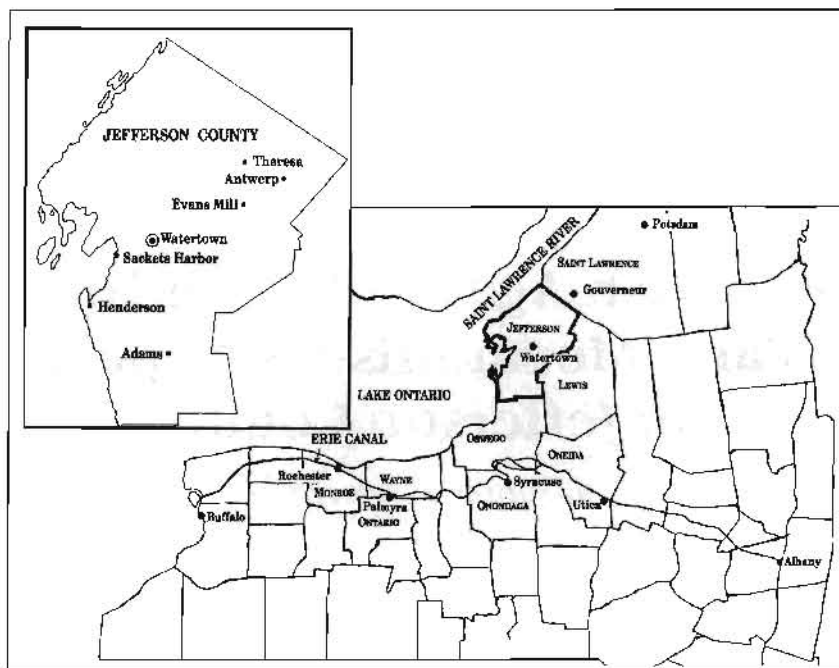
Marianne Perciaccante

INTRODUCTION

EARLY MORMONISM IN NORTHERN New York's Jefferson County appealed to many evangelical Protestant converts, particularly to Baptists and Methodists, because it returned to the most basic value of these denominations—direct contact with God. Prior to 1830, Baptists and Methodists were thoroughgoing "antiformalists;" they placed more weight on direct experiences with God than on an ethically rigorous, doctrinally sound, hierarchically ordered polity. In contrast, Presbyterians and Congregationalists before 1830 were "formalists;" they favored a moral, intellectual, and authoritarian order, while they feared the unorganized excitement of the Baptists and Methodists. In general, Baptist and Methodist populations dominated the farm towns of northern New York, while Presbyterians and Congregationalists¹ dominated more commercial regions, such as

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¹ After 1801, to encourage the evangelization of the West, Presbyterians and Congregationalists accepted the Plan of Union. The Plan asserted that in regions west of the Hudson River, Presbyterians and Congregationalists would meet together as one rather than two denominations. Congregationalists and Presbyterians, meeting as one, would vote on a Presbyterian or Congregational



Jefferson County, New York, lies on the northwest border of the state, separated by a considerable distance from the Erie Canal

county seats and market towns.

This geographical distribution of denominations accords with Mary Douglas's argument that religious understanding reflects daily life.² Baptists and Methodists working small farms in

polity. By about 1820 in Jefferson County, Presbyterian groups outnumbered Congregationalists. Rural congregations preferred the connection of the presbytery to the isolation of the congregation, but some rural counties continued to have large congregational populations after 1820.

² Douglas defines religious communities in terms of their understanding of the physical body in *Natural Symbols: Explorations in Cosmology* (New York: Pantheon Books, 1970), 143-44. By her thesis, those denominations which I refer to as antiformalists have comparatively little ritual and value "human fellowship over material things." They do not have a solid boundary separating themselves from the rest of the world. In contrast, formalists have well-defined roles within their society and a clear sense of separation from other societies. Ritual supports

rural communities created casual societies that valued personal interactions more than a formal social order. They drew few social distinctions among themselves—or even between themselves and their ministers. Their religious practices stressed personal interaction with God rather than rigid adherence to certain moral and doctrinal standards. Presbyterians, who dominated commerce and politics, favored a hierarchical religion with a clear sense of correct doctrine and morality.

Around 1830, when the farming communities in Jefferson County had been settled for about thirty years, life changed for both of these groups. New emphases in antiformalist and formalist church records and publications develop markedly after 1830, the period that coincides with the first wave of Mormon missionary conversions in the area. Why was 1830 a watershed? It has long been popular to explain Mormon conversions in upstate New York as a result of rapid social change combined with revivalism. The combination led to disillusionment with established religions. While the full opening of the Erie Canal in 1825 no doubt stimulated social change along its route, it had the opposite effect in Jefferson County, eighty miles away. It diverted the main trade away from the St. Lawrence River, which formed Jefferson County's northern border, and 1830 marked the end of population growth in Jefferson County.³ However, although historians have regarded the upswing in revivalism and new religions as a reaction to accelerated social change in the canal region, such an argument cannot hold for Jefferson County.

The noted Presbyterian revivalist Charles Grandison Finney lived among these social distinctions in Jefferson County until

the social structure and moral code."

³ Marianne Perciaccante, "Calling Down Fire: Charles Grandison Finney and Revivalism in Jefferson County, New York, 1800-1840" (Ph.D. diss., University of Virginia, 1992), esp. chap. 4, "The Maturation of the Churches"; Whitney Cross, *The Burned-Over District: The Social and Intellectual History of Enthusiastic Religion in Western New York, 1800-1850* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1950), 63; and Dorothy Kendall Cleveland, "The Trade and Trade Routes of Northern New York from the Beginning of Settlement to the Coming of the Railroad," *The Quarterly Journal of the New York State Historical Association* 4 (October 1923): 205-31.

young manhood. He irregularly attended a Baptist church in Henderson as a youth but had his conversion experience in the Presbyterian church in Adams. He began his preaching career in 1824 in Evans Mills, a village in the town of LeRay in Jefferson County. In his memoirs, Finney asserts that Evans Mills was a "Burnt district" when he arrived.⁴

Tracing the social trends in Jefferson County shows that social hierarchies began to develop after 1830, and a concern for maintaining them followed. Antiformalists sought to define moral and doctrinal standards and to encourage their ministers to seek formal educations. At the same time, Presbygationalist formality was growing stale; it needed an infusion of excitement to redefine its value and to keep it vital. That infusion took the form of a tempered antiformalist piety.⁵ Thus, after 1830 formalists and antiformalists converged. Some antiformalists, however, considered this convergence a sign of diminished piety. These dissatisfied antiformalists turned to new religions like Mormonism and Millerism in an affirmation of their values while some Presbygationalists, who considered the convergence unseemly, sought to reaffirm their own values by becoming Universalists.⁶

⁴ Richard A. G. Dupuis and Garth M. Rosell, eds., *Memoirs of Charles Grandison Finney: The Complete Restored Text* (Grand Rapids, Michigan: Academie Books, 1990), 78-79.

⁵ I explain this process more thoroughly using Victor Turner's terms structure and anti-structure, Henri Bergson's terms open and closed religion, and Ernst Troeltsch's distinction between church and sect in "Calling Down Fire," 11-19, and 190. See also Turner, *The Ritual Process: Structure and Anti-structure* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1979); Bergson, *The Two Sources of Morality and Religion* (Notre Dame, Indiana: University of Notre Dame Press, 1977); and Troeltsch, *The Social Teachings of the Christian Churches* (New York: Harper and Row, 1949).

⁶ See David L. Rowe's discussion of the decline of antiformalism and its influence on new religions in *Thunder and Trumpets: Millerites and Dissenting Religion in Upstate, New York, 1800-1850* (Chico, Calif.: Scholar's Press, 1985), 73. Mario De Pillis corroborates that most early Mormons came from denominations such as the Baptists and the Methodists. De Pillis, "The Social Sources of Mormonism," *Church History* 37 (March 1968): 76-77. Although in its earliest years, Universalism attracted Baptists and Methodists, by the 1820s Universalism in some areas such as Jefferson County, and especially those which fell under the influence of Hosea Ballou, resembled Unitarianism and thus appealed more to

Of course, some Presbyterians became Mormons and some antiformalists became Universalists, but these converts may have already been uncomfortable with their denominations prior to the changes of the 1830s. Thus, I agree with Marvin Hill that early Mormonism derived its essence from primitivism, which I consider a form of antiformalism, but disagree that early Mormon converts in New York were engaged in a "quest for refuge" from social pluralism. I also agree with Mario De Pillis that much of the Church's bureaucratization occurred in Ohio, Missouri, and especially Nauvoo, while taking issue with his contention that disorder and social dislocation encouraged Mormonism's success in New York. Mormon converts in Jefferson County were not seeking refuge from pluralism or stressful social change; rather they were seeking more intense and personal religious experiences, which they found in Mormonism. Between 1832 and 1836 in Jefferson County, the period of my study, Mormonism was clearly antiformal.

The most fruitful source of documentation on these shifts in Jefferson County's church membership are Baptist and Presbyterian congregational records. Few Congregationalists remained in the county, and few established Methodist churches existed during this period. Baptist records refer frequently to members who departed for new faiths, and Baptists often "labored with" those whom they hoped to save from sectarian movements. The records seldom, however, contain any details. In contrast, the formalist orientation of Presbyterian congregations produced detailed records. Presbyterian congregations excommunicated members who had joined the Mormons and the Universalists, suggesting in their descriptions of Mormon and Universalist converts an awareness of antiformalist tendencies among new Mormons and formalist tendencies among new Universalists.

The records of these proceedings mention wrong belief among Mormon converts, but they repeatedly suggest that, by converting, Mormons were more significantly "immoral"⁷ rather

formalists than to antiformalists. Russell Miller, *The Larger Hope: The First Century of the Universalist Church in America, 1770-1870* (Boston: Unitarian Universalist Association, 1979), 26, 169, 243-44.

than merely believing incorrectly. Thus, the records practically ignore doctrinal differences between Presbyterians and the new Mormons, while in contrast they specify and consider seriously the different beliefs of the Universalists. Occasionally, the records mention that the wrong beliefs of the Universalists are "inherently" wicked. But in general, the records identify doctrinally unclear early Mormonism as immoral and doctrinally solid Universalism as heretical.⁸

TYPICAL EXCOMMUNICATION CASES

This moral judgment from the records of religious neighbors reflects early Mormon antiformalism. In Mormonism's earliest years, doctrinal differences between it and Protestant denominations were not the most significant issues. Rather, both Protestant denominations and new converts focused on Mormonism's claims to a living prophet and to the Book of Mormon as signs of "direct divine intervention." New converts fully expected to experience this divine intervention themselves. On the other hand, Universalists separated from Presbyterians because they differed on significant tenets of the Westminster Confession.⁹ This difference in opinion was reflected in church trials.

For example, on 22 April 1838 the Session of the First Presbyterian Church of Theresa, in Jefferson County, northern New York, considered the case of Lydia Cook. It resolved

that Sister Lydia Cook be cited to appear before the Chh Session on the 12th day of May next to answer to the following charges, Viz.

⁷ As the Presbyterians used "moral" and "immoral," the terms had a wide range of meaning which included righteousness and unrighteousness.

⁸ Mormonism's doctrinal lack of clarity stemmed partly from its newness. Also its original appeal was because of its lack of emphasis on doctrine and its force of emphasis on contact with God. Universalism was more doctrinally solid, because doctrine was the main point of emphasis. In a religion in which all are potentially saved and in which evangelism is deemphasized to the point that it precipitates lengthy quasi-intellectual contention with evangelical denominations, doctrine achieves much greater force than direct experience of God's grace.

⁹ The Westminster Confession of Faith (1646) was accepted with some variation by Baptists, Presbyterians, and Congregationalists.

1st Covenant breaking by absenting herself from Communion table and Chh ordinances.

2d By believing in the inspiration of the Mormon Bible and uniting herself with the Mormon Chh.¹⁰

Lydia Cook did not appear before the session on 12 May. When she also failed to appear on 2 June 1838, the session proceeded to trial without her:

Br. A. Morrow testified that Sister Lydia Cook has been absent from the communion of the chh about 2 years & has not attended upon the ordinances of the chh—had conversed with her once and she admitted of belonging to the Mormon chh. [He] did not know of any immoral conduct in regard to her daily deportment.

Br. S. Bodman Says he had conversed with Sister Lydia Cook[,] asked her if she believed the Mormon book. She said it was the inspiration of God. . . . knew of no particular immorality in her daily walk except that of her uniting and associating with the Mormons.

Cross examined— Said he had conversed with Sister Lydia Cook and tried to convince her of her errors—the reasons that she opined that she did not continue with the Presbyterian Chh—was that she did not believe in the doctrine of Election and could not enjoy peace with them.

All endeavours to convince Sister Lydia Cook of her errors and practice being unavailing Voted unanimously that she be excommunicated from the Presbyterian Chh. Also that unless she appeals from the decision within ten days, this excommunication be publicly announced whenever we are favored with a Stated Supply.¹¹

On 24 June, the Reverend Roswell Pettibone arrived as ministerial support (or "stated supply") for the church and publicly announced Lydia Cook's excommunication. Lydia's husband Luther had been excommunicated three years earlier, after he appeared before the session and "plead justification in consequence of his firm belief in the doctrines of Mormonism."¹²

Despite Luther Cook's doctrinal position, the session in both Lydia Cook's and Luther Cook's trials did not concern themselves

¹⁰ Records of the First Presbyterian Church of Theresa, Jefferson County, New York. Records are kept at the church.

¹¹ Ibid. "Stated supply" refers to a minister on regular salary who is the settled pastor of a Presbyterian congregation.

¹² Ibid., 1 December 1835.

with doctrinal unorthodoxy, but with behavior. Although the session referred to Lydia Cook's failure to believe in the doctrine of election, it did not decri her opposition to what had been a standard belief of the Presbyterian Church, nor did it make any attempt to rectify that heretical tendency—which had become common by 1838. In fact, during the trial they did not refer to any other "wrong beliefs." They suggested that Mrs. Cook had acted (not believed) wrongly. Similarly, the nearby First Presbyterian Church of Watertown, which always acted quickly in excommunicating those who demonstrated a belief in Universalism, took no action against those who believed in Mormonism on the grounds that they believed incorrectly. Rather they were found to have acted wrongly.

For example, like the Cooks, Mr. and Mrs. William Huntington, converts to Mormonism from Presbyterianism in Watertown, were judged to have behaved improperly, and the minutes of their trial give no definite evidence of doctrinal unorthodoxy:

The Committee to visit Mr & Mrs Wm Huntington reported that they had respectfully seen them that both *had avowed* belief in Mormonism but fellowshipped the church & had not changed their belief in Evangelical doctrines excepting that they believed immersion to be the true mode of baptism — Mr Huntington recently appeared to be wavering in his belief as to the truth of Mormonism & that Mrs Huntington now believed it to be wrong & regretted what she had done.¹³

The church's concern was thus with what "she had done" and not with her beliefs.

In contrast with these proceedings, the investigations against Universalists typically specified their wrong beliefs. For example, the First Presbyterian Church in Watertown investigated the beliefs of Isaac Bailey in considerable detail. "He professes to have imbibed the doctrine of Universal salvation. Mr Bailly being present & the 1st & 9th articles of the Confession being read to him, said he did not believe in the doctrine of the Trinity, or of

¹³ Records of the First Presbyterian Church of Watertown, Jefferson County, New York, 3 November 1836; emphasis in original. Records are kept at the church.

a general judgment."¹⁴ Such a seemingly minor discrepancy in the wording of charges against dissenting members of Presbyterian congregations bears great significance.

The Session of the First Presbyterian Church in Watertown discovered that although the Huntingtons had acted wrongly in joining the Mormons, they "had not changed their belief in Evangelical doctrines excepting that they believed immersion to be the true mode of Baptism." This final doctrinal problem with baptism troubled the church in Watertown as little as Lydia Cook's opposition to the doctrine of election troubled the church in Theresa. In fact, the Session of the First Presbyterian Church of Theresa could not specify significant areas in which the Cooks differed with the rest of the church doctrinally. Aside from Lydia Cook's failure to believe in the doctrine of election, the church in Theresa could not clarify how her belief in "the inspiration of the Mormon Bible" distinguished her from those who maintained doctrinal orthodoxy. In contrast, the First Presbyterian Church in Watertown recognized the exact clauses in the Westminster Confession which Isaac Bailey and other Universalist members violated. Lydia Cook's contemporaries could not draw as clear a doctrinal distinction between themselves and converts to Mormonism as they could between themselves and converts to Universalism.

Apparently, the earliest and most complete perception of Mormonism was that it involved belief in a "Mormon Bible." For example, the first published anti-Mormon literature was more concerned with proving Joseph Smith and the Book of Mormon fraudulent than with contending against any doctrinal differences.¹⁵ Theology in early Mormonism seemed poorly defined, as Mario De Pillis and Marvin Hill agree.¹⁶ Not only did non-Mormons

¹⁴ Ibid., 29 May 1840.

¹⁵ Two of the earliest were Alexander Campbell, *Delusions: An Analysis of the Book of Mormon with an Examination of its Internal and External Evidences, and a Refutation of its Pretences to Divine Authority* (Huston: Benjamin H. Greene, 1832); and E. D. Howe, *Mormonism Unveiled; or a Faithful Account of that Singular Imposition and Delusion* (Palmerville, Ohio, 1834).

¹⁶ De Pillis asserts that Church doctrine formed in the Midwest after 1830 and that the Doctrines and Covenants "is far more important than the Book of

fail to identify theological differences between Mormonism and Presbyterianism, but the converts themselves, like the Cooks, did not identify their theological differences with their former churches. In contrast, converts to Universalism did. It seems reasonable to posit that many early Mormon converts were attracted to its antiformalism, as manifested in its lack of a well-defined theology, just as converts who wanted more formal theologies were attracted to Universalism. My study found that early Mormonism in northern New York attracted those who opposed the bureaucratization and increasing doctrinal formality of their churches, while Universalists favored a well-ordered, doctrinally clear denomination.

MORMONISM AS AN ANTIFORMALIST BACKLASH

The scholarly formalist/antiformalist distinction between denominations originated with David L. Rowe's *Thunder and Trumpets: Millerites and Dissenting Religion in Upstate New York, 1800-1850* (1985) in which he demonstrated that Millerite expectations for the end of the world in 1843 and 1844 expressed discontent with increased formalism in formerly antiformalist denominations—chiefly the Baptists.¹⁷ The formalists were the denominations with the most educated membership and the most formal structures. Evangelical formalists were Presbyterians and Congregationalists; nonevangelical formalists were Episcopalians and Unitarians; evangelical antiformalists were the Baptists and the Methodists; and until the 1820s, nonevangelical antiformalists

Mormon for understanding the rise and historical development of Mormon institutions and doctrines." De Pillis, "Social Sources," 60. Hill disagrees with De Pillis's partiality for the Midwest and argues that the Church's background in New England and New York formed "its essential orientation in ideas and institutions." By and large this orientation involved a preference for primitive gospel, which underlies later developments. But despite his difference with De Pillis, Hill agrees that doctrinal systematizing occurred after the Church left New York. Hill, "The Shaping of the Mormon Mind in New England and New York," *Brigham Young University Studies* 9 (Spring 1969): 351-72.

¹⁷ Curtis Johnson also describes and profitably adopts Rowe's terminology in *Islands of Holiness: Rural Religion in Upstate New York, 1790-1860* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1989), 67-69. Johnson defines antiformalist as "direct divine intervention" (p. 68).

were often Universalists. In contrast to formalists, antiformalists generally had less education and less structure; thus, they were more prone to enthusiasm and revivalism and less prone to social reform. Formalists generally sought to re-create society in the image which they considered most holy, while antiformalists preferred to maintain a close relationship with God; attempts to improve society were secondary.¹⁸

Rowe's model works well in explaining the phenomena which have led historians to consider the northern and western section of New York State a "burned-over district." This image has served historians as an interpretive fiction, much like Jon Butler's description of the First Great Awakening.¹⁹ Whitney Cross created this district in 1941 by expanding Charles Grandison Finney's description of northern New York in 1824 to include the Erie Canal region after 1825.²⁰

In northern New York where Presbyterian revivalist Charles Grandison Finney had spent his formative years at a Baptist church,²¹ Baptists and Methodists viewed enthusiasm as a normal

¹⁸ *Ibid.*, 67-69.

¹⁹ Butler, "Enthusiasm Described and Derided: The Great Awakening as Interpretive Fiction," *Journal of American History* 69 (1982): 305-25.

²⁰ Cross, *The Burned-Over District*, 3; Cross's Research map titled, "Tentative Location of the Burnt District," and dated 24 October 1941 in Whitney R. Cross Papers, Department of Manuscripts and Archives, accession no. 1678, Kroch Library, Cornell University, Ithaca, New York; and Perciaccante, "Calling Down Fire," 8-9, 25-28. In "The Rise of Mormonism in the Burned-Over District: Another View," *New York History* 61 (October 1980): 411-30, Marvin Hill questions historians' continued use of Cross's now forty-year-old study and suggests that Millerites succeeded in the 1840s where the Mormons had succeeded in the 1830s. Both new religions attracted people disaffected from formalization. Without discussing Rowe's distinction between formalists and antiformalists, Hill further advocates using Rowe's approach to study Mormonism. I agree with Hill's use of Rowe, but I do not think that Hill distances himself enough from Cross in his basic assumptions about the social environment in New York. Although I also have problems with Cross's interpretations, he is generally a reliable guide for religious history in western New York, and the depth of his research in western New York's religious heritage remains unmatched. Moreover, Cross perceived himself as the first non-Mormon historian not to accept anti-Mormon propaganda. See his correspondence with Mormon officials in the appendix to this article.

²¹ Dupuis and Rosell, *Memoirs of Charles Grandison Finney*, 6 and n. 31.

expression of piety. Evangelism expressed in fervent prayer and missionary work preoccupied these antiformalists far more than social reform. The reverse was the case with Presbyterians and Congregationalists during the same time. Enthusiasm looked to them like immorality, and thus impiety. True piety for them was expressed through efforts to maintain morality within the church and in society.²²

In 1830, however, the antiformalists and the formalists began to adapt to each other's values. Antiformalists formalized, and formalists antiformalized. The decline of antiformalist enthusiasm was inevitable; the loose structure of their churches eventually evolved into a bureaucratized ministry with a settled, more educated ministry.²³ Antiformalists subdued their fervor and began to interest themselves in reform movements. Certainly antiformalist reform continued to encourage evangelization rather than societal improvement after 1830; but while formalists believed that society had to be improved by direct efforts to combat specific moral ills, antiformalists continued to believe that societal improvement would come through evangelization. By 1830, however, this evangelization was extended to include the uplifting of the oppressed through such movements as anti-Masonry, abolitionism, and missionary work to the Burmese and Native Americans.²⁴

At the same time, formalists were adopting some of the methods of their antiformalist neighbors. The earliest example of this borrowing occurred in 1824 when Charles Grandison Finney translated his experience in a Baptist church in Henderson, New York, into enthusiastic revivals in Evans Mills, Antwerp, and Gouverneur in northern New York. Accompanying this recreation of subdued forms of formerly antiformalist piety, which continued at least into the 1840s, formalists continued to concern themselves with societal improvement. However, while the formalized antiformalists believed that societal improvement would follow from evangelization, antiformalized formalists believed

²² Perciaccante, "Calling Down Fire," chap. 3, "The Foundations of Fervor."

²³ Rowe, *Thunder and Trumpets*, 71-72.

²⁴ Perciaccante, chap. 5, "The Progress of Reform."

that evangelization could act as a catalyst for moral reform efforts. In effect, antiformalists viewed evangelization as the primary goal, and moral reform as the secondary goal; formalists saw evangelization as a means to achieve their primary goal, moral reform.

Hence, the 1830s which have come to represent for many historians the height of Second Great Awakening fervor in New York State, was in fact the decade when the formalists began to experience a tempered fervor, while the fervid piety of the poorly studied antiformalists was ending. Still many antiformalists refused to formalize and many formalists could not accept antiformalization. As a result, staunch antiformalists turned to new religions such as Mormonism; and steadfast formalists in northern New York often opted for Universalism.

This description of the Protestant evangelical background to early Mormon history in New York thus parts company with Whitney Cross who generalizes the social changes in areas close to the Erie Canal to include northern New York. The theological evolution had begun long before the social changes. In fact, in northern New York where Finney began his successful labors and where the Cooks, Huntingtons, and many other early Mormon converts—including Joseph Smith's paternal grandparents—lived, stability, not change, was the norm.

I am not the first, of course, to question Whitney Cross's ecological explanation of enthusiastic religion in western New York along the Erie Canal.²⁵ Part of the problem lies in Cross's contradictory intentions. Cross ostensibly intended to argue against Frederick Jackson Turner's frontier thesis. The first prong of his attack was the argument that religious enthusiasm in early

²⁵ See, for example, Judith Wellman, "Crossing Over Cross: Whitney Cross's *Burnt-Over District* as Social History," *Reviews in American History* 17 (March 1989): 159-74; Mario De Pillis, "The Quest for Religious Authority," *Dialogue: A Journal of Mormon History* 1 (1966): 68-88; and De Pillis, "Social Sources." Wellman correctly points out that Cross did not define his "socioeconomic hypotheses" and "social history theses" explicitly, that he does not define his terms clearly, that his "county-level data" are misleading, and that his use of statistics is "primitive," indicating why Cross has been misinterpreted, and why those who have depended upon Cross have often disagreed significantly. It is impossible to develop a single unified explanation of his argument.

nineteenth century New York State derived both from the residents' New England religious heritage and also from the social dislocation caused by the Erie Canal. The second prong was the argument that stable, rural areas were the most prone to fervor. Most historians have interpreted Cross's interest in debunking Turner and in identifying the causal role of the canal as indications that urban areas were religiously more excitable, accepted Cross's charting of religious excitement along the canal, and overlooked Cross's equally important interest in stable, agrarian areas.²⁶

Although Marvin Hill accepts Rowe's insightful conceptualization of formalism and antiformalism to interpret early Mormon history, Hill's analysis of the social dislocation that drove many New Yorkers to join the Church is typical of this tendency to misread Cross.²⁷ In "Quest for Refuge: An Hypothesis as to the Social Nature of the Mormon Political Kingdom," Hill asserts:

It seems likely that the Mormons reacted against the disintegration of the rural, socially harmonious village community with its dominant religious orientation which its leaders had known in New England and the triumph of a commercially oriented, acquisitive, openly pluralistic and competitive, and implicitly secular social and religious order in

²⁶ Cross's papers indicate that the contradiction in his argument results in his falsely interpreting some of his research findings. See Perciaccante, "Calling Down Fire," 43-44 n. 28. Map VI in *The Burned-Over District* (77) indicates that the area surrounding Jefferson County's seat, Watertown, and Watertown itself, are the most susceptible to -isms, while the research map in his papers from which Map VI derives indicates that the areas outside of Jefferson County to the north and south are the most susceptible. See unnumbered map dated 24 October 1841, "A Tentative Location of the Burned-Over District," distinguishable from another map of the same date in that it is annotated: "Areas of semi-enthusiastic character in Blue; storm centers—Heavy Red." Whitney R. Cross Papers, Cornell University Department of Manuscripts and Archives, Kroch Library, #1678.

²⁷ Non-Mormon histories of the region which further this geographical overemphasis include Paul Johnson, *A Shopkeeper's Millennium: Society and Revivals in Rochester, New York, 1815-1837* (New York: Hill and Wang, 1978); Nancy Hewitt, *Women's Activism and Social Change: Rochester, New York, 1822-1872* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1984); Glenn C. Altschuler and Jan M. Saltzgaber, *Revivalism, Social Conscience, and Community in the Burned-Over District: The Trial of Rhoda Bement* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1983); and Mary Ryan, *Cradle of the Middle Class: The Family in Oneida County, New York, 1790-1865* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1981).

western New York. The early Mormons, I would argue, were fugitives from social change and political and social conflict, their Kingdom of God a refuge.²⁸

There is no reason to believe that by 1830 the "rural, socially harmonious village community with its dominant religious orientation," had disappeared. Furthermore, given that the birthplace of "burned-over district" fervor, Jefferson County, was not experiencing "the triumph of a commercially oriented, acquisitive, openly pluralistic and competitive, and implicitly secular and social order," it is unlikely that these factors encouraged religious fervor in other areas. Undeniably certain areas along the canal were experiencing these radical changes. However, since other equally fervid or more fervid areas were not undergoing similar changes, it is logically untenable to argue that social dislocation drove religious enthusiasm.

Rowe's paradigm is simpler. He suggests that many denominations were formalizing in the 1830s in response to normal social and cultural evolution toward greater bureaucratization. During this process, some grew disillusioned and found antiformalist havens in new religions like Mormonism and Millerism. In general, as Mario De Pillis points out, those who joined the Mormons were economically and socially marginal; it is exactly this population which had long most enthusiastically embraced antiformalism and reacted most strongly against formalization.²⁹ In contrast to the Mormon converts, the atypically formalist Universalists of Jefferson County tended to attract prominent members of the society who opposed the post-1830 antiformalization of their denominations.

²⁸ Marvin S. Hill, "Quest for Refuge: An Hypothesis as to the Social Origins and Nature of the Mormon Political Kingdom," *Journal of Mormon History* 2 (1975): 4. I find essentially the same position in Marvin Hill, *Quest for Refuge: The Mormon Flight from American Pluralism* (Salt Lake City: Signature Books, 1989) but without the emphasis on New England.

²⁹ De Pillis, "Social Sources," 77. Like De Pillis, I view antiformalists as marginalized, not in a pejorative sense, but in the sense that they did not play central roles in commerce and politics or that they were ignored by those who did play central roles.

UNIVERSALIST AND MORMON RESPONSES

In 1814, Pitt Morse arrived in Jefferson County as the area's first settled (resident) Universalist minister. In 1824 he began to make arrangements for the prominent Universalist, Hosea Ballou to preach at the dedication of the first church of the Universalist Society of Watertown. The expense of bringing Ballou to Watertown proved worthwhile; soon after his departure, local evangelical churches experienced a sudden surge in trials against members seeking dismissals³⁰ to the Universalist church. For example, Watertown's First Presbyterian Church charged John Gotham of the unlikely combination of buying a parcel of land for less than its worth and of believing in the tenets of the Universalists. The fact that he had attended Ballou's dedication was advanced as damning, but the church lacked enough evidence to convict him of real-estate fraud.³¹

The most acrimonious trials occurred in the Presbyterian churches; and Morse countered by printing their transcripts with his commentary in his semi-quarterly journal, *The Herald of Salvation*, which he had begun in 1822. As a strong formalist, Morse demonstrated a notable concern with personal morality as an indication of a religion's worth. As he did in all of his written commentaries on these cases, he dwelt on the morality of the accused heretics, thus responding directly to the Presbyterian sessions which called these individuals' morality into question

³⁰ A "dismissal" was a letter which a departing member of an evangelical congregation received from the congregation (or in the case of Presbyterian churches from the session of the church) stating that that person was a full member in good standing. (A "full" member was an adult who had had a conversion experience.) The member who received such a letter was removed from the list of congregants; and when he or she presented the letter to the new congregation, he or she was added to their list. In the nineteenth century, churches occasionally and with misgivings allowed a member of one evangelical denomination to receive a dismissal to another evangelical denomination. Failure to request a dismissal could lead to a church trial. Thus, many new Universalists, as a matter of course, requested dismissals from their evangelical churches to their new church, inevitably leading, at least in Jefferson County, to a church trial for "heresy."

³¹ Records of the First Presbyterian Church of Watertown, 6 June 1825.

because of their unorthodox opinions. It would be illuminating to compare Presbyterian and Baptist trials of converts to Universalism between 1822 and 1834, but many records are missing. Even Baptists frequently neglected to specify the charges for which someone was excommunicated, and sometimes no action was taken against a Baptist convert to Universalism. What remains, however, is the commentary of Pitt Morse. Of the four trials against Universalists which he printed in *The Herald of Salvation*, all were Presbyterians.³²

According to extant records, between 1822 and 1834, the Baptists conducted two excommunications of members converted to Universalism; however, Morse did not print these transcripts perhaps because Baptists did not have lengthy trials and did not attack Universalist morality during the proceedings. When Baptists excommunicated defectors to Universalism, they indicated that they were merely resigning themselves to what they viewed as an unfortunate circumstance ("resolved to withdraw the hand of fellowship"), while the Presbyterians' motives seemed rather to punish the "heretic" for stubbornness and an unworthy character.³³

Additionally, Morse's concern with the righteousness of converts from Presbyterianism to Universalism is not only a response to Presbyterian animadversions, for despite the apparently correct perception that Universalism was antiformalist or an example of the "democratization of American Christianity," Morse's editorials and sermons manifest the importance of such formalist concerns as education and morality.³⁴ Moreover, the

³² *The Herald of Salvation*, 8 March 1823, 61; 17 March 1823, 101; 31 May 1823, 110; 4 February 1824, 49.

³³ Records of the First Baptist Church of Rutland, 18 May 1822, Jefferson County Historical Society, Watertown, New York; Records of the First Baptist Church of Adams, 12 July 1834, kept at the home of the clerk, Noreen MacIntosh, Honeyville, Jefferson County, New York. The quoted phrase, which means "excommunication," comes from the trial of Elizabeth Heath, a convert to Universalism, First Baptist Church of Adams, 12 July 1834, Presbyterian Historical Society, Philadelphia, microfilmed by the Genealogical Society of Utah, Salt Lake City.

³⁴ On Universalism's antiformalism, see Rowe, *Thunder and Trumpets*, 80, and

commonness of Presbyterian conversions suggests that Universalism appealed more strongly to formalists than to antiformalists. In Jefferson County, Presbyterians had the most to lose from Universalist success; and not surprisingly, their measures created a Universalist backlash that manifested itself, quite understandably, as formalism. For as some antiformalists sought continued antiformalism in Mormonism, some formalists sought continued formalism among Universalists.

This formalist backlash among Universalists in Jefferson County runs counter to most understandings of Universalism. After all, antiformalist Universalism stood in juxtaposition to formalist Unitarianism throughout New England, attracting mostly former Baptists, while Unitarianism attracted former Congregationalists. In the nineteenth-century fight for the separation of church and state, Universalists and Baptists were frequent allies; and most Universalist clergy and congregants emerged from antiformalist Methodist and Baptist backgrounds.³⁵ What made Jefferson County so different? In my opinion, it was Morse's affinity for Ballou. Ballou's brand of Universalism was sufficiently close to Unitarianism that one 1844 history of religion in America calls Ballou a Unitarian.³⁶ Pitt Morse's Universalism in Jefferson County resembled frontier Unitarianism more closely than it did standard Universalism. Most of the converts were former Presbyterians (formalists), and all rejected the doctrine of the trinity. Moreover, the necessary denial of pietist enthusiasm among the nonevangelical Universalists meant (1) that the denomination naturally tended to formalize more quickly than other denominations and (2) that Universalism stressed personal rectitude above such concerns as conversion experiences. Morse, like Ballou, held

Johnson, *Islands of Holiness*, 68 n. 4. Nathan O. Hatch groups the Universalists with Baptists, Methodists, Free Will Baptists, and Disciples of Christ. Hatch, *Democratization of American Christianity* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1989), 21, 40, 56, 66, 127, 134, 170.

³⁵ Miller, *The Larger Hope*, 26, 243-44. See also Johnson, *Islands of Holiness*, 97, referring to the beginning of similarity between Universalists and Unitarians; and Sydney E. Ahlstrom, *A Religious History of the American People* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1972), 481-83, discusses Ballou.

³⁶ Robert Baird, *Religion in America . . .*, as cited in Ahlstrom, *Religions*, 169.

that people paid for their sins during their lives on earth, rather than afterwards; thus, Morse and his followers believed that unrighteousness would result in earthly punishment. Also, because the Universalists believed that such traditional Presbyterialist doctrines as the trinity and Calvinism were superstitions, the Universalists praised education as a means of escaping delusion. Although Morse apparently had little formal schooling, he quoted the Greek New Testament, wrote knowledgeably about Calvinist and Arminian theologies, and persistently focused on the intellectual consistency of Universalist (in contrast to evangelical) beliefs.³⁷

Morse contends in his "Address on Education" that even the "common" classes should be educated to prevent "rapacity, lying, cheating, theiving, drunkenness & sensual low pleasures."³⁸ He thus combined his formalist concerns for morality and education in one address.

Morse also strongly opposed revivalism, ascribing to it some suicides in Jefferson County.³⁹ In 1831, all of Jefferson County's churches, including the quintessentially formalist First Presbyterian in Watertown, saw a surge in converts from revivals; the Universalists, however, predicted "whirlwinds of moral desolation" from the enthusiasm. Nonetheless, George S. Boardman, pastor of First Presbyterian, gave a formalist interpretation to the revivals, which should have put Morse's criticism to rest, but which did not:

"We regret that in the prosecution of any inquiry or investigation, it should be taught that Reason should be silenced and that any system, doctrine or faith should be established on other ground than a convic-

³⁷ "A Partial Sketch of Rev. Pitt Morse's Life," handwritten essay at All Souls Church, Watertown, New York; and "Honor Memory of Rev. Pitt Morse: Universalists Lay Wreath on the Grave of Early Preacher," *Watertown Daily Times*, 14, June 1920; and "Two Pioneer Preachers," *ibid.*, 9 May 1834, in the Pitt Morse file of the morgue of the *Watertown Daily Times*, Watertown, New York.

³⁸ "Address on Education," November 1840, pp. 11-13, Archives, Harvard University Divinity School, Cambridge, Massachusetts. See also Morse's "On the Education of Children," *ibid.*

³⁹ Morse, untitled collection of holograph sermons, 17, Archives, Harvard University Divinity School.

tion of its truth and propriety; and should the very large and respectable meeting who instigated this address thereby incur the imputation of being enemies of Religion, it will be because in their consideration of this subject they consulted that still small voice" which is not heard in the "whirlwind" of fanaticism, or discovered in the fire of religious bigotry. Moral and religious sentiments lose none of their force in being expressed in good language in a temperate manner, and at a suitable time and place.⁴⁰

The Universalists asserted, as had the Presbyterians before antiformalization, that revivals created "burnt districts," or areas that suffered "moral desolation" from the intensity of revival emotions.

Pitt Morse remained in Jefferson County until 1825 when *The Herald of Salvation* merged with *The Universalist* in Utica, ninety miles away. He moved to Philadelphia, but his Watertown congregation persuaded him to return in 1827, where he died in 1860. Unlike other areas where Unitarians lived alongside Universalists, Universalism held a monopoly in Watertown as the formalist alternative to the evangelical denominations. Unitarianism did not arrive in the county until Unitarians and Universalists united in 1961.⁴¹

THE ANTIFORMALIST MORMON APPEAL

Paralleling the movement of the originally antiformalist Universalists toward more formalism than the evangelical denominations could provide, Mormonism appealed to those who sought more antiformalism, as a backlash against formalization, during the 1830s in Jefferson County. Like the Universalists, Mormonism did not advocate revivalism. However, unlike the Universalists, they did not oppose it. Many early Mormons joined the Church in areas of marked religious fervor.⁴² But it seems less the fervor per

⁴⁰ In John A. Hacklock, *The Growth of a Century As Illustrated in the History of Jefferson County, New York from 1793 to 1894* (Philadelphia: Sherman and Company, 1894), 752.

⁴¹ William T. Field and Lorina R. Hays, "History of All Souls Church: The Story of the Universalist Church in Watertown, New York" (pamphlet), (N.p., n.d.), available at All Souls.

⁴² HOL, "The Rise of Mormonism," 424; and Milton V. Backman, Jr., "Awakenings

se which brought them to Mormonism than a hunger for "direct divine intervention," which was no longer available in their original churches. According to Rowe, Millerites, Mormons, Christian Unionists, Perfectionists, and Shaker spiritualists all wanted to return their original denominations to a primitive innocence which formalization was blocking.⁴³

Despite Mormonism's apparent authoritarianism, according to Hatch, it "challenged common people to take [their] religious destiny into their own hands, to think for themselves, to oppose centralized authority and the elevation of the clergy as a separate order of men." Although Mormonism had a hierarchical government, Hatch continues, "the conjunction of democratic aspiration and authoritarian style is a characteristic pattern of populist cultures."⁴⁴ Because populist leaders like Joseph Smith appealed so strongly to the longings of the marginalized, it was natural for them to rise to powerful (and eventually hierarchical) positions.

Nevertheless, Mormonism's appeal was its antiformalist values. Mormons spurned the institutionalization of the mainstream churches, offering instead a faith derived from primitivism that exalted the common person over the powerful. The Mormons made every man a priest and a prophet who could seek direct counsel from God. Simultaneously, the Mormons created a structure of formal offices to place controls on the potential chaos of antiformalist practices. For example, the Mormon doctrine that any man could receive revelation appealed to many who would otherwise be borderline members of formalist and formalizing mainline churches. John Elmer of Jefferson County was a convert to Mormonism but fell under LDS discipline for his "very incorrect principles," including his claims that "the Spirit of God sometimes took him and threw him down, and that he could die the death of the righteous, and of the wicked; and in order to show his power to God, he also stated that he had passed

in the Burned-Over District: New Light on the Historical Setting of the First Vision," *Brigham Young University Studies* 9 (Spring 1969): 301-30.

⁴³ Rowe, *Thunder and Trumpets*, 72.

⁴⁴ Hatch, *The Democratization of American Christianity*, 58, 208. Mormonism bureaucratized quickly, thus appealing to formalize.



This handsome stone house was the home of William and Zina Huntington in Henderson, Jefferson County, New York, when they and their children became Mormons in 1835, and the first Mormon meeting place in Jefferson County. (The right wing is a later addition.) It is currently the home of Gary Rhodes, supervisor of the town of Henderson. Photograph courtesy of the Watertown Daily Times.

through a kind of death so as to become immortal, and would exist forever without any other death or change, only growing brighter and brighter eternally."⁴⁵ The difficulty was not Elmer's beliefs per se—for the Mormons as anti-formalists believed that any man could become like God and that God was once like them. However, Elmer's exercise of such views, unchecked by a structure of office and hierarchy, would have led to anarchy.

Unlike the Universalists who appealed to the prominent,

⁴⁵ Joseph Smith, Jr., *History of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints*, edited by H. H. Roberts, 7 vols., 2nd ed. rev. (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book, 1978 printing), 2:225-26.

chiefly in the central regions of Jefferson County, the Mormons found converts among the common people, chiefly in marginal regions. When the "traveling high council" of the Church met in Pillar Point, Jefferson County, on 19 June 1835, it gave this tally of membership in Jefferson and St. Lawrence counties. "The church at Pillow [sic] Point numbered twenty-one, but did not generally observe the Word of Wisdom. The church at Sackets Harbor numbered nineteen; [Burville], seven; Champlain, six; [Ellisburg], thirty-three; Henderson, four; Alexandria, four; Lyme, four; and two in Orleans, three in Potsdam, and six in Stockholm."⁴⁶ The two areas of greatest Mormon activity in Jefferson County were Theresa and Henderson.⁴⁷

Though the early Mormon converts referred to in this essay came from antiformalizing Presbyterian churches, it does not necessarily mean that Mormons converted primarily from Presbyterian churches. Rather, it points to the excellence of Presbyterian record keeping and the strong Presbyterian tendency to excommunicate those who left the fold, suggesting that most of the converts came from the less-well-documented antiformalists.

County legends assert that in 1832 Mormon missionaries built a bridge or platform just under the water of Indian River to convince residents that they could walk on water and miraculously cured a feverish boy in Theresa.⁴⁸ The only corroborating evidence is that Brigham Young entered the United States from Kingston, Ontario, in 1832; a logical route would have been to

⁴⁶ *History of the Church*, 225. Five more baptisms took place at the end of their meeting. Potsdam and Stockholm, both in neighboring St. Lawrence County, were the homes of Joseph Smith's paternal grandparents and paternal uncles. Richard L. Bushman, *Joseph Smith and the Beginnings of Mormonism* (Urbana and Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 1984), 26-29.

⁴⁷ Some baptisms, apparently of nonresidents, occurred in Watertown, but unfortunately, extant records are so sketchy that the cases mentioned in this paper constitute the only documentable examples of Mormon conversions mentioned in extant local records.

⁴⁸ Asael LaFave, historian of Theresa and clerk of the session, First Presbyterian Church of Theresa, personal communication, 13 August 1991; Harry F. Landon, *The North Country: A History Embracing Jefferson, St. Lawrence, Oswego, and Franklin Counties, New York* (Indianapolis, Ind.: Historical Publishing Company, 1932), 299-300.

land in Sackets Harbor by crossing Lake Ontario or to pass through Theresa en route from the St. Lawrence River, but the 1832 legend does not name Brigham Young.

The community of Henderson contributed a notable family to the Church; William Huntington, Zina Baker Huntington, and their four children, Dinick, Prescindia, William, Jr., and Zina Diantha. (The parents are not the Mr. and Mrs. Huntington "labored with" by the First Presbyterian Church in Watertown mentioned earlier.) William, a veteran of the 1813 battle at Sackets Harbor during the War of 1812, was a marginal figure in Henderson when he joined the Presbyterian Church in Adams in 1816, partly hoping that membership would improve his fortunes which had slumped during the trade embargo imposed by the War of 1812.⁴⁹ He became disillusioned with Presbyterianism; even before the arrival of Mormon missionaries in 1832-33, he had begun to oppose the use of alcohol and tobacco, a position which was developing cultural popularity, which was also found among Seventh-day Adventists, and which would later be codified in the Mormon Word of Wisdom. In 1835, Hyrum Smith baptized the family; they may, in fact, have been the five baptisms that climaxed the Pillar Point conference of 1835, but the records are not explicit.⁵⁰

In 1836, Mormon meetings in Henderson were held in the Huntington home; but within a few months, Dinick and Prescindia had gone ahead to Kirtland, Ohio, with the rest of the family following before the year's end. In the years that followed, Huntington became one of the earliest settlers of Nauvoo, Illinois, a member of its high council, and a presiding elder at Mount Pisgah,

⁴⁹ Andrew Jensen, "William Huntington," *Latter-day Saint Biographical Encyclopedia: A Compilation of Biographical Sketches of Prominent Men and Women in the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints* 4 vols. (Salt Lake City: Andrew Jensen History Company and Deseret News, 1901-36), 1:368; Huntington Family file, morgue of the *Watertown Daily Times*. Huntington's name does not appear in the records of Adams's First Presbyterian Church, but it did not accurately list members' names before 1819 and there is no reason to doubt the biographical information in Jensen's sketch.

⁵⁰ The records of the First Presbyterian church of Adams end in 1834, making it impossible to learn the Presbyterian reaction to Huntington's departure.

Iowa. Mother Zina died soon after the exodus from Missouri. Both daughters became secret plural wives of Joseph Smith in Nauvoo. After Smith's assassination, Prescindia married Heber C. Kimball and Zina Brigham Young, both in plurality. Zina eventually became third general president of the women's Relief Society and an ardent suffrage supporter.⁵¹

The Huntington family is typical of most Mormon converts from Jefferson County in that they came from the socially and economically marginal northern and southern noncommercial areas of the county that were formalizing in the 1830s while the subtly formalist Universalists did best in the central areas that were antiformalizing at the same time.

CONCLUSION

The dynamic between the antiformalists and the formalists was inevitable, resulting in reaction and counterreaction among all of the groups, including the apparently formalist but actually antiformalist Mormons and the apparently antiformalist but actually formalist Universalists. The two groups lived as neighbors and such cross-currents were unavoidable. The evangelizing enthusiasm of the antiformalists rapidly became bureaucratized and expected occurrences. The resulting loss of spontaneity in pious outpourings and more formalized proceedings disappointed the staunchest antiformalists. Meanwhile, formalists were adopting and dampening down some antiformalist practices—for instance, transforming protracted meetings into conferences—and disappointing the staunchest formalists.

⁵¹ *LDS Biographical Encyclopedia*, 1:368-70; Stanley B. Kimball, *Heber C. Kimball: Mormon Patriarch and Pioneer* (Urbana and Chicago: University of Illinois, 1981), 310; Richard S. Van Wagoner and Steven C. Walker, "Zina D. H. Young," in their *A Book of Mormons* (Salt Lake City: Signature Books, 1982), 415-18; Joan Iverson, "The Mormon-Suffrage Relationship: Personal and Political Quandaries," *Frontiers* 11 (1990): 11. Iverson asserted that Zina's interest in suffrage exacerbated the difference between the National Women's Suffrage Association (Susan B. Anthony and Elizabeth Cady Stanton) and the American Women's Suffrage Association (Lucy Stone and Henry Blackwell), because the NWSA included polygamous women while the AWSA decried polygamy as "barbarism" (pp. 8-16).

In contrast to the formalist tendencies Mormonism had developed by the Nauvoo period, the Mormons in Jefferson County between 1832 and 1836 were antiformalists. They were not seeking refuge from a storm of radical change; rather, they were seeking to maintain a strong antiformalist faith during a period of intense but normal evolution of ecclesiastical structure and practice. Universalists sought to maintain the formalist interests in education, morality, and polite worship, while the Mormons sought to preserve antiformalist closeness to God, which had previously been expressed by other antiformalists in religious fervor. In the larger, more bureaucratic history of the Church, Jefferson County, and probably other early rural conversion sites as well, were islands of anomaly.

APPENDIX
WHITNEY CROSS CORRESPONDENCE
WITH MORMON OFFICIALS

All correspondence is typed; typographical errors have been reproduced. Whitney R. Cross Papers, Department of Manuscripts and Archives, accession no. 1678, Kroch Library, Cornell University, Ithaca, New York

WHITNEY CROSS TO JOHN A. WIDTSOE

7 December 1942

John A. Widsue
Church Historian
Salt Lake City, Utah

Dear Dr. Widsue:

Dr. Hedrich of Geneva, New York has suggested to me that you may be able to help me in my research problems.

I am writing a thesis on the "Burnt District" of New York, a study of the origins of all the unorthodox religious movements in New York State from 1820-1850.

Most of the so-called source materials for Mormonism are so obviously prejudiced against the Mormons that I put little faith in them, and the Mormon sources I have found are very slim and do not lead to the kind of

information I want.

My idea is that little or nothing can be added to the history of Joseph Smith, and I consider him one of the tribe of religious geniuses who appear from time to time. My concern is rather with the social and economic factors which conditioned New Yorkers for acceptance of new and radical ideas of whatever sort. Only by this approach can I show common ground among the greatly varied religious movements of the years I am studying. So what I want is original sources on the persons who became Mormons: their places of origin in New York and of their families (mostly I suspect) in New England, their economic and social status and mental characteristics, their distribution throughout this area and any concentrations in certain spots, etc.

I know that the number of adherents at the time Smith moved to Kirtland was very small, but that the number of Utah residents of New York birth in 1860 was very large—beyond natural increase. I suppose therefore that this area was one of the most productive fields for the Mormon missionaries who returned to travel the East, from Kirtland, Nauvoo and Utah. Are there manuscript journals of such tours, or any traces of them whatsoever which I could study, and if so, can I receive permission to use them? . . .

A trip to Utah would be a great pleasure but almost an impossibility for me at this time. However, I could put limited funds into photostating if you do have such data in your files.

I am trying to locate the manuscript of the Utah territory Census of 1860, hoping that may yield some data on nativities. I may find it in the Library of Congress, or it may be in Utah. Any suggestion for this search would be very helpful.

Very truly yours,
Whitney R. Cross

JOHN A. WIDTSOE TO WHITNEY CROSS

15 December 1942

Dear Friend:

Your kind letter of December 7th has been received, and I shall personally be very glad to give you any help I can in your research relative to the early history of the Latter-day Saints, so-called Mormons. However, I am not the Church Historian, and to avoid any confusion, I am sending your letter to him: Elder Joseph Fielding Smith, Church Historian, 47 East South Temple, Salt Lake City, Utah. He or one of his assistants will answer you shortly.

Meanwhile let me say that a great many people have collected ma-

erial bearing on the subject which you have in mind. Master's theses and some doctor's theses have been on related subjects. There is a vast amount of source material on this and related subjects in the Historian's Office in SLC . . .

Cordially yours,
John A. Widson

A. WILLIAM LUND TO WHITNEY CROSS

December 21, 1942

Dear Mr. Cross:

Dr. John A. Widson referred your letter to Elder Joseph Fielding Smith, Church Historian, and he in turn asked me to answer it.

Inasmuch as we have no alphabetical list of the persons who have joined the Church and who were born in the state of New York I am unable to furnish you more than the list of leaders of our Church who were born in New York.

The list is as follows:

George A. Smith, born June 26, 1817, at Potsdam [sic], N.Y.
Jedediah M. Grant, born Feb. 21, 1816, at Windsor, N.Y.
Daniel H. Wells, born Oct. 27, 1814, at Trenton, N.Y.
David W. Patten, born in 1800 at Theresa, N.Y.
Parley P. Pratt, born Apr. 12, 1807, at Burlington, N.Y.
Oson Pratt, born Sept. 19, 1811, at Hartford, N.Y.
John E. Page, born Feb. 25, 1799, at Trenton, N.Y.
Lyman Wight, born May 9, 1796, at Fairfield, N.Y.
Zebulon Coltrin, born Sept. 7, 1804, at Ovid, N.Y.
John Van Cott, born Sept. 7, 1814, at Canaan, N.Y.

I am sending under separate cover a short sketch of each of the gentlemen named above for your perusal. After you are through with them will you please return them to me.

Sincerely yours,
A. W. Lund
Assistant Church Historian

WHITNEY CROSS TO A. WILLIAM LUND

December 21, 1942 [sic]

Dear Mr. Lund:

Do you have as well as the list of born New Yorkers among the church leaders, a list of those born in New England, but living in New York at the

time of their conversion? The same type of information for such a list would be most helpful.

Sincerely yours,
Whitney R. Cross

[There is no answer in the Cross correspondence.]



Amy E. Robbins. Photo courtesy RLDS Library-Archives

A Black Woman in a White Man's Church: Amy E. Robbins and the Reorganization

Roger D. Launius

LIKE ALL INSTITUTIONS, the Reorganized Church of Jesus Christ of Latter Day Saints has struggled throughout its existence to deal with tensions between races in the house of faith. The example of one black woman's family in the first half of the twentieth century illustrates the difficulties inherent in the effort for both Church authorities and individuals in this painful process of mutual accommodation. Amy E. Robbins (1884-1956) left a remarkable personal memoir about her experiences as a black woman in a church run by white males. It presents a truly remarkable story of faith and perseverance, her love of God, her concern for her family, and her commitment to the gospel. It also describes in a moving way her lifelong labor against bigotry and injustice in the context of the Reorganization. Through the lens of Amy Robbins's life, new perspectives on these subjects can be illuminated, reinforced, or perhaps altered.

The Reorganization never imposed official restrictions on black members, as did the Latter-day Saints under Brigham Young.

ROGER D. LAUNIUS is Chief Historian for the National Aeronautics and Space Administration in Washington, D.C. He is grateful to Joni Wilson and Lee Peunt for assistance with research for this essay.

Yet Reorganization leaders and members have generally accepted American middle-class racial concepts of black subservience and this tact decision has affected its operations among black Americans.¹

Furthermore, the Institutional Church has allowed the pursuit of two race policies, one ideal and the other practical. The ideal has remained unchanged since the Church's organizational meeting: the gospel of Jesus Christ is for all humanity. Christian salvation is universal, without regard to race, color, or condition. The atonement of Christ is available for all.² The Reorganized Church adopted an official policy accepting this basic scriptural position as early as 1865, near the conclusion of the Civil War, and it has remained in effect ever since.³

This official position, however, tells only part of the story, for there has been a wide divergence between the ideal and its implementation. The Reorganized Church has been, since its inception in the 1850s, and continues to be a white, Midwestern-based religious movement with strong ties to the larger society. Its leaders and members have usually been firmly incorporated into the American values system and were, or aspired to be, middle class. They have usually followed the American mainstream in its social practices, including whatever restrictions might exist about racial equality in the United States.⁴

¹ For histories of blacks in the Reorganization see William D. Russell, "A Priestly Role for a Prophetic Church: The RLDS Church and Black Americans," *Dialogue: A Journal of Mormon Thought* 12 (Summer 1979): 37-49; Arlyn R. Love, "The First Presidency's Response to the Civil Rights Movement," *John Whitmer Historical Association Journal* 4 (1984): 41-50; and Roger D. Launius, *Invisible Saints: A History of Black Americans in the Reorganized Church* (Independence: Herald Publishing House, 1988).

² See *Book of Mormon* (Independence: Herald Publishing House, 1966 ed.), II Nephi 11:113-15; *Book of Doctrine and Covenants* (Independence: Herald Publishing House, 1970 ed.), Section 1:1b.

³ The General Conference adopted race-related resolutions in 1875, 1948, 1950, 1956, and two in 1968; see *Rules and Resolutions* (Independence: Herald Publishing House, 1980 ed.). Each of these resolutions espoused the ideal of Christ's salvation through repentance, regardless of race or condition.

⁴ No demographic studies of Church population have been done for the nineteenth century, but see discussions of Church growth and development in

Because of this internal discrepancy between the Church's belief and its practices, Amy Robbins shouldered the burden of racial prejudice throughout her life in the Reorganization. The fact that she was a woman added a second burden, that of gender discrimination which, ironically, was almost invisible but no less crushing. Darlene Clark Hine argues that black women had fundamentally different experiences from white women because many gender prejudices were masked by the overarching problem of racial bigotry. As a result, black women were unaware of much gender discrimination and tended to see race as the explanation of the pattern of prejudice they encountered. Amy Robbins also fits this pattern. She developed a sensitivity to racial discrimination over the course of her lifetime but apparently remained unaware of the extent to which gender discrimination was also a burden.⁵

Amy Elizabeth Thomas Burke Robbins was born on 30 March 1884 at Minden, Haliburton County, Ontario Province, Canada. The daughter of Charles Edward Thomas and Eliza Jane Pearl Thomas, Amy grew up with heroic stories of her family's struggles against oppression. Her paternal grandfather, John Dorsey, escaped slavery in the American South through the famous "underground railway" and made his way to Canada where he married

Roger D. Lanius, *Joseph Smith III: Pragmatic Prophet* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1988), chap. 13; Roger D. Lanius, "Quest for Zion: Joseph Smith III and Community Building in the Reorganization, 1860-1900," in *Restoration Studies III*, edited by Maurice L. Draper and Debra Combs (Independence: Herald Publishing House, 1986), 314-32; and Norma Derry Hiles, "Lamoni: Crucible for Pluralism in the Reorganization Church," *ibid.*, 135-44. For the perceptions that white nineteenth-century Americans held of blacks, see William Stanton, *The Leopard's Spots: Scientific Attitudes Toward Race in America, 1815-1849* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1960), and George M. Fredrickson, *The Black Image in the White Mind* (New York: Harper and Row, 1971).

⁵ Darlene Clark Hine, "Rape and the Inner Lives of Black Women in the Middle West: Preliminary Thoughts on the Culture of Dissemblance," in *Unequal Sisters: A Multi-Cultural Reader in U.S. Women's History*, edited by Ellen Carol DuBois and Vicki L. Ruft (New York: Routledge, 1990), 292-97. For an essay that approaches gender discrimination in the RLDS Church, see Patricia Struble, "Mile to Bishop: RLDS Women's Financial Relationship to the church," *John Whitmer Historical Association Journal* 6 (1986): 23-32.

Catherine Ann Thomas, a freed woman, and took her name to mask his identity as an escaped slave. Catherine Thomas, an octroon, had been sexually abused by her master to whom she bore a child. In a fit of remorse he had freed her but periodically tried to locate her and either persuade or force her to come back to the South with him. John Dorsey Thomas had then fought in a black regiment in the Union Army during the Civil War and liked to tell how he helped rid the United States of slavery. Amy's maternal grandparents, Henry Pearl and Mary Patterson Pearl, had mixed ancestry: German, Irish, Cherokee, and black. From Greene County, Pennsylvania, they had never been enslaved but regarded the institution with loathing.⁶ Because of this heritage Amy, a relatively light-skinned black, spent most of her early life around whites and could not remember experiencing racial prejudice growing up in Canada.

When she left home as a teenager to work as a domestic in Lindsay, Canada, Amy met and later married Jack Burke, the son of an Irish immigrant. They were married only a little more than a year when he was drowned in a river while on a trip. She says little about him in her memoirs except that this mixed marriage taught her that all people needed to be accepted "regardless of their color or station in life. It is a glorious feeling to have no prejudice rankling in my heart and love in my heart for everyone." She was pregnant at his death and lived with an aunt in Detroit until her son was born.⁷

Amy's aunt, a member of the Reorganized Church, began to take Amy to worship services. Amy remembered:

⁶ Amy E. Robbins, "Just Amy: Autobiography," n.d., mimeographed booklet in my possession. On sexual abuse and its effect on women, see Hine, "Rape and the Inner Lives of Black Women"; Renée Simpson, "The Afro-American Female: The Historical Construction of Sexual Identity," in *The Power of Desire: The Politics of Sexuality*, edited by Ann Snitow, Sharon Thompson, and Christine Stansell (New York: Monthly Review Press, 1983), 229-35; Darlene Clark Hine, "Lifting the Veil, Shattering the Silence: Black Women's History in Slavery and Freedom," in *The State of Afro-American History: Past, Present, and Future*, edited by Darlene Clark Hine (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1986), 223-49.

⁷ Robbins, "Just Amy," 21-22, 24.

One evening we went to a missionary service downstairs. The people there belonged to the same Church. The young priest, William Smith, preached about the restoration of the gospel in these latter days and the coming forth of the Book of Mormon. It all sounded wonderful and I believed all he said without question. It had such a ring of truth that I could doubt nothing. After the service was over he asked if there were any questions. A minister from another Church asked many and offered objections to some of Mr. Smith's claims, especially about the Book of Mormon. I listened feverishly, for I did not see how he could answer some of the inquiries. My tension was relieved when every question and inquiry was answered from the Bible. I thought I had read the Bible through, but nothing I had read in the Bible sounded like what he read, and I thought it just could not be the same kind of Bible. I was thrilled beyond words with what I heard.

The local Reorganization members began meeting regularly with Amy, and she soon asked for baptism.⁸

Amy was baptized at sunrise in the Detroit River on 9 July 1905 by Elder George Shippy, a service she described as "the highest mountain peak of my life." Attended by only four people, Amy related that this baptismal service was laced by an irony that she relished, despite her unmistakable sincerity. She described the "Motley group" assembled: "there was a Mr. Black, who was white and my aunt, Mrs. White, was black, and . . . I was brown and the Elder was white. These different colors were one in Jesus Christ." That same morning she was confirmed a member at the Evergreen Branch of the Church at the corner of Fourth and Holden in Detroit. She recalled that in the prayer the elder confirming commanded that the Holy Spirit rest on her: "I felt the spirit envelope me in a wonderful power that cannot be described in words, only that I was baptized by the Holy Ghost. At that time I received a definite knowledge of the truthfulness of the restored gospel of Christ. This was a turning point in my life and I experienced peace, joy and happiness in my endeavor to serve God."⁹ This deeply significant experience sustained Amy throughout her life as she dealt with difficulties of all forms.

Amy stayed in Detroit, working in a variety of settings and

⁸ Ibid., 22.

⁹ Ibid., 23.

participating in the life of the Saints. "I was happy during those years," she wrote, "with just enough heartache to balance my joy and make me appreciate my blessings." While there, she met Herbert M. Robbins, a black farmer living near North Buxton who had been a widower for five years, and married him on 15 March 1909 in a ceremony presided over by a Reorganization priesthood member, even though Bert was a strong Baptist. She thought it an idyllic marriage. Before they went to bed on their wedding night, Bert suggested that they kneel in prayer. "I was moved to tears as I listened to the beautiful, all inclusive prayer he offered," she wrote. "I knew God would bless our lives together. Every morning and evening from then on it was an established rule to have family worship."¹⁰

They returned to Robbins's farm after the wedding, and Amy enjoyed country living. To her son from her previous marriage and Bert's daughter from his, they added eight more children, the last one born eight months after Bert's untimely death. Although they were too far from town to attend church, the first three years were peaceful and outside pressures were few. Bert owned the farm, and while the work was hard, the rewards were theirs. Then he mortgaged his land in an effort to forestall a foreclosure on his parents' home but could not maintain payment. In 1912, after they lost the farm, they moved to Battle Creek, Michigan, where Bert began work on a railroad.¹¹

Amy Robbins was disappointed that there was not a Reorganized Church congregation in Battle Creek; but about 1915, a young priest came into the area and began holding meetings. When Amy saw a notice for a Reorganization worship service in a Saturday newspaper, she "was so happy for I had hoped and prayed for the Church." Joyfully, she told Bert her news and was very pleased when "he said he would go with me."¹² She did

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, 24.

¹¹ *Ibid.*, 24-34; Amy E. Robbins to Wilford G. Winholtz, 17 February 1949, copy in my possession.

¹² Amy E. Robbins, "My Experience as a Negro in the Battle Creek Branch of the Reorganized Church of Jesus Christ of Latter Day Saints," p. 1, n.d., copy in my possession.

not realize that close contact with the Church would present her with special challenges.

The Robbins family reached the meeting location on Sunday at the appointed time and were received "very cordially," but the minister in charge immediately changed his sermon topic. Amy described the scene:

[The minister] introduce[d] us to about ten people by telling them that we were their cousins because we were one of their brothers, but our father was cursed with a black skin and though we still carried that curse we were still cousins ect. ect. [sic]. My husband was unusually quiet and had no comments at all and when I asked him to go to Church with me Sunday he said he did not care to go to Church to hear of his cursings he heard enough of that every day. When he went to Church it was to hear of God's goodness and blessings and he never again went to our Church. But he was a wonderful husband and lived [as] an upright Christian in every sense he knew. I always found in the life of Roy M. Young [the minister in charge of that service] a very admirable follower of the Christ.¹³

This incident expresses, with brutal honesty, the painful division between belief and behavior that has marked race relations in the history of the Reorganization. It demonstrates that many Reorganized Church members, while honestly believing that the gospel was for all, tacitly accepted an inferior position for blacks beneath whites. In part that was the result of the common religious conception incorporated into Mormonism at least by the 1840s that God cursed Cain with a dark skin for murdering Abel. As offspring of a "cursed" lineage, blacks therefore had less stature than whites.¹⁴ Clearly the minister in Battle Creek accepted this

¹³ "Bert's Last Sermon," in Notes from Materials from the Library of Amy E. Robbins, typescript by Richard Hawks, 14 June 1979, copy in my possession.

¹⁴ The religious dimension to black inferiority arguments have been analyzed in V. Jaques Voegell, *Free But Not Equal: The Midwest and the Negro During the Civil War* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1967); Winthrop D. Jordan, *White Over Black: American Attitudes Toward the Negro, 1550-1812* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1968); Anne C. Loveland, *Southern Evangelicals and the Social Order, 1820-1860* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1980); and Donald G. Mathews, *Religion in the Old South* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1977). On the issue within Mormonism, see Newell G. Brighurst, *Saints, Slaves, and Blacks: The Changing Place of*

position and offered the theory of the curse of Cain as a fact. And certainly Roy Young's explanation would have seemed acceptable to white members who accepted the social values of the larger American society.

Although Amy does not comment on the aspects of gender discrimination this incident shows, they were no less important.¹⁵ Amy Robbins was a Church member but, as a woman, was not eligible for priesthood. She was, consequently, automatically placed into an unequal position in relation to the minister who made his position plain. A member of the priesthood had the right to speak in the worship service; she did not. He answered to a hierarchy which she could never be a part of, and that hierarchy did not then envision his racist introduction of her and her husband as problematic or contradictory of larger gospel values.¹⁶ It is interesting that she accepted the minister's remarks about her

Black People Within Mormonism (Westport, Conn.: Greenwood Press, 1981); Lester E. Bush, Jr., and Armand L. Mauss, eds., *Neither White Nor Black: Mormon Scholars Confront the Race Issue in a Universal Church* (Midvale, Utah: Signature Books, 1984).

¹⁵ How women's subordination has closed them off from power and authority in American society has been traced in several recent penetrating works: Carl N. Degler, *At Odds: Women and the Family in America from the Revolution to the Present* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1980); Jacqueline Jones, *Labor of Love, Labor of Sorrow: Black Women, Work, and the Family from Slavery to the Present* (New York: Basic Books, 1985); Gerda Lerner, *The Majority Finds Its Past: Placing Women in History* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1979); Nancy F. Cott, *The Bonds of Womanhood* (New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press, 1977).

¹⁶ The priesthood structure of the Reorganized Church is a hierarchical system in which authority to act and perform certain functions is granted to its members according to the position occupied in the system. Priesthood members hold all important offices in the church at every level from the local congregation to the Joint Council. It is an enormously significant institution and has defined the overall direction of the Reorganization. A good deal of deference to priesthood holders by the membership has been a part of the Reorganization from its earliest years, with quiet acceptance of their decisions in most instances. When dissent in the church has arisen, it has generally been the result of perceived abuses of authority by priesthood members. On the Reorganized Church's priesthood structure see Alfred Yale, *The Priesthood Manual* (Independence: Herald Publishing House, 1972 ed.).

and her race without complaint, even while she recorded her husband's quiet but staunch rejection of the racial stereotype. Unfortunately, she does not explain why she accepted this labeling. I conjecture that she did so partly from cultural influences, partly because of the Reorganized Church's traditional deference to the authority of priesthood, and partly because her hunger for the church to which she was so thoroughly and deeply converted made her willing to forgive Young, seeing beneath his racism to his more "admirable" qualities.

What of Bert's reaction? As a Baptist, he did not attach the same significance to priesthood authority as Amy. His response—first courteous endurance, then dignified withdrawal—is a reaction of his stronger self-esteem, that must have been partly gender related. It says much about his respect for Amy, however, that he made no public protest during the meeting. Amy accepted her second-class status and continued to participate in the Battle Creek congregation.

In spite of persistent racism, Amy found worshipping with the Battle Creek Saints tremendously rewarding. Her home life was also pleasant. Children were born every couple of years. Bert's steady work made it possible for them to buy a house with some acreage on the outskirts of town where they had a barn and some livestock. Amy had the unusual luxury, for a black wife, of being a full-time mother and homemaker.¹⁷ She participated in a local women's service group, and was part of a sewing circle that made quilts and other items. Her friends were mostly black, but neither they nor she thought much about race. Her light complexion let her move without challenge in white society. Her awareness of both her race and her gender lay dormant.¹⁸

This idyll ended abruptly on 17 February 1919 when Bert died after a three-day illness, thrusting Amy into a totally different world. The crisis of losing a spouse has long been recognized as

¹⁷ It was unusual in black marriages for the husband's earnings to constitute a living wage. See Elsa Barkley Brown, "Womanist Consciousness: Maggie Lena Walker and the Independent Order of Saint Luke," in *Unequal Sisters*, edited by DuBois and Ruiz, 208-23.

¹⁸ Robbins, "Just Amy," 23-44.

a major turning point in an individual's life, both emotionally and practically. For a woman economically dependent on her husband, the crisis is exacerbated.¹⁹ Amy was newly pregnant with her eighth child by Bert, born eight months after the father's death, while her oldest child, Bert's daughter from his earlier marriage, would soon graduate from high school. The happiness and reliance developed in her decade-long partnership with Bert created emotional ties that her first widowhood could not match. As another crushing blow, her eleven-month-old son, Eugene Wentworth Robbins, died in his sleep on the very night of Bert's funeral. Amy had him buried in Bert's grave.²⁰

Doubly bereaved, Amy Robbins received advice from friends, but little help. Virtually all of them agreed that she should put the children up for adoption. "They were so sure I could never provide for them," she remarked, "but they didn't reckon with a mother's love for her fatherless brood, or with God's love for his children." She did not want to work outside the home, leaving her children to take care of themselves. Instead she got a primitive washing machine and took in laundry. It was a practical solution for the time. It allowed her to stay home with her children, as she believed was important. Even if entrepreneuring a small business had been a practical possibility, she had few resources except her own labor and few skills except housekeeping. Being a laundress, on the other hand, did not violate any cultural expectations about appropriate behavior for a woman, particularly a black woman.

¹⁹ General discussions of this subject can be found in Lisa Wilson, *A Death in the Family: Widows in Pennsylvania, 1750-1850* (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1992); Thomas Bender, *Community and Social Change in America* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1986); Peggy Pascoe, *Relations of Rescue: The Search for Female Moral Authority in the American West, 1874-1939* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1990); Kathleen Underwood, "The Pace of Their Own Lives: Teaching Training and the Life Course of Western Women," *Pacific Historical Review* 55 (November 1986): 513-30, and David J. Russo, *Families and Communities: A New View of American History* (Nashville: American Association for State and Local History, 1974). For a socio-psychological perspective on Reorganized Church members, see Marjorie Truch, "Role Changes of Widows and Widowers in Relation to Voluntary Organizations" (M.A. thesis, University of Missouri at Kansas City, 1982).

²⁰ Robbins, "Just Amy," 34.

she had thus selected a profession that would draw no unfavorable commentary.²¹

Frugally Amy remade old clothing into clothes for herself and her children. When three of her daughters were about the same size she liked to dress them alike. She even had a little fun with it, calling them "Robbins Brown Breasts"—Twitter, Chirp, and Peep.²²

Five months after Bert's death when Amy was six months pregnant, Amy's brother, Charles W. Thomas, came to visit in July 1919 and realized her dire condition. Without a wife or family, Thomas decided to stay, found work, and was soon contributing to the family's upkeep. He was a stabilizing influence in the Robbins's lives for the next two years. Thomas also helped Amy get a "Mother's Pension" through the County Poor Commission, a small allowance to help with the upkeep of children below the ages of fourteen.²³ Almost immediately, Amy Robbins introduced Thomas to the Church and he was baptized in late July or early August. Bringing a convert's zeal to his membership, Thomas ensured that Amy's family was active in the local branch while he was there. He even took them to district reunion a few weeks later, an annual week-long family camp held at Indian Lake, during late August of 1919. She recalled, "We enjoyed the association of the Saints." She also remarked that living in tents at the reunion was trying when a hard storm blew down their tent, "soaking all our clothes and bedding and running in pools on the tent floors." But that was outweighed by the good experiences: "It didn't dampen our spirits as we sang praises, prayed, and gave thanks."²⁴

At this camp, an unfortunate incident occurred, underscoring the racial discrimination Amy had to face. Some nonmembers objected to blacks using the same beach at the lake as the white Reorganization members, and the Hattle Creek pastor asked her

21 Robbins, "Just Amy," 34. On the stereotypical roles of widows see, John Harris, ed., *The Family: A Social History of the Twentieth Century* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1991).

22 Robbins, "Just Amy," 48.

23 *Ibid.*, 30.

24 *Ibid.*, 49-50.

to use a different part of the lake front. Amy wrote:

"There was a place farther down the lake shore good enough for us," he said, and the Elder took us there where there was a couple of old planks extending out among long weeds and a mud bottom, with mud and weeds also along the shore.

The shame and humiliation were very depressing to us, for, during the hours that were set aside for swimming and recreation, we stayed away from the beach and wandered around the ground feeling very much like packing up and returning home. We felt that if the saints had stood together and demanded their rights for the whole group to their leased property, there would have not been too much opposition, however, my brother being from that part of Canada where discrimination was not known, was crushed and disappointed in the attitude of the saints.²⁵

Although this incident cut Amy deeply, she was able to forgive the white Saints for this slight; but it hurt her children even more. Her adolescent son, Russell Robbins, left the Church for a time as a young man; but although he later returned, he was still bitter about the Indian Lake incident more than thirty years later.²⁶

During the same month (though it is not known whether it was before or after the reunion), an experience at an RLDS worship service in Battle Creek provided a deeply affirming and consoling experience for Amy. Lilly Bartmore, a woman in the congregation, "spoke through the gift [of] the Spirit to the congregation." When she finished, she turned to Amy and told her in prophecy that God acknowledged her as His servant. "I was told," Amy recalled, "that my prayers had been heard and recorded and I was admonished to 'worry not because of your children, for mine arms are around them and I will care for and protect them.'" The message was a significant confirmation of Amy's sense of self-worth, a mark of God's love for her and her family.²⁷

²⁵ Robbins, "My Experience as a Negro," 3.

²⁶ V. Russell Robbins, Letter to Amy E. Robbins, 21 February 1950, copy in my possession. After recalling the Indian Lake incident, he reported, snorting, that he had been called "boy" at church one day in Detroit, Michigan. "I am 34 years old, the father of two children, a husband, a citizen, a body-repairman, a union member, a voter, a good risk to my credit references," he wrote, "BUT to a good brother of the church, I am a boy."

²⁷ Robbins, "Just Amy," 50.

In short, the months immediately following Bert's death were a time of shattering blows and growth that made Amy understand herself in new ways, both positively and negatively. Amy gained a greater sense about her own strengths but also learned more about the handicap of being a black woman in a white man's church. In time she came to believe that the great trial of Bert's death had brought blessings of forcing the family to pull together. Amy's grandmother had taught her to memorize poems and give concerts. She worked with her children, who were quite talented musically, to put together a program of dramatic readings, dialogues, and music. They raised seventy-five dollars at one performance at the Second Baptist Church in Battle Creek. Other performances followed, less lucrative but still financially helpful.²⁶

Amy remained deeply and passionately committed to the Reorganized Church and to her congregation in Battle Creek. Most of the time, the family attended church without apparent difficulties. This positive record should receive its full value in Amy's spiritual life; but racism remained a persistent problem, even though it surfaced only occasionally over Amy Robbins's next forty years in the Church. She remained a strong advocate of the Restoration until her death; but her faith in the justice and mercy of God gave her the moral authority and energy to label prejudiced behavior for what it was, to protest it (though usually without satisfactory results), and to put her perceptions on the record. It was not always an easy task. It is in this context that we should understand the instances of abuse and neglect that occurred in her largely white Battle Creek congregation. From our current perspective, her faith, energy, and diligence would have made her a valuable member—and almost certainly a priesthood leader—in any congregation; instead in a hundred small ways she and her family were made to feel unwelcome.

Amy's children were musically talented (two became professional musicians) and willingly contributed their gifts to the congregational choir. However, some members refused to allow them to be seen in the choir loft during the service and insisted

²⁶ *Ibid.*, 36-37.

on seating them behind a curtain at the back of the loft. It was an exceptionally belittling episode. Most white members would not have accepted such a plan if they had been its targets. Hurt and humiliated, Amy, too, considered staying away; that she forebearingly accepted the arrangement says much about her commitment to the Church. However, she was anguished about the effect of such experiences on her children, for she desperately wanted them to feel an attachment to the Church: "I realized that the salvation of my children was at stake when they mingled with the world and were denied the privilege [sic] of hearing and association with the gospel."²⁹

On another occasion, some of the local Saints told the pastor they were ashamed to bring friends to Church because there were black members in the congregation. Amy's recollection of this experience is heartrending:

Only the Master could know the humiliation I underwent, because I was a Negro wholly dependent upon my white brethren for the spiritual food for which I was starving and for the teaching of the truths of the gospel for my children and my own encouragement. There was a motion made . . . that I stay away from Church, for a while at least, that they have a chance to bring their friends; there was much discussion and finally the motion was lost, however I offered to remain away from the Church for a period of six months or longer and though some were much opposed to it, I did stay away, I did stay away which was about the hardest thing I have ever done. What they did not know was that I did, as it were, "lick up the crumbs that fell from the Master's table," when I would stand under the window and get what instruction that might sift through, and, in my heart sing the songs of Zion with them. I would feel like a sneak because I was reaping good that was not intended for me.³⁰

When she finally got up the courage to go back inside the meeting house one Wednesday night for prayer meeting, most of

²⁹ Amy E. Robbins, et al., to Elder A. C. Barmore, President of Battle Creek Branch, [ca. 1930], 5, in Notes from Materials from Library of Amy E. Robbins, n.d., typescript by Richard W. Hawks, 14 June 1979. On her children's musical success see Frances Ashby, "Music Is Her Life," *Saints' Herald* 109 (1 March 1962): 164-66; [no author], "They Sang for Mattie," *Saints' Herald* 111 (15 June 1964): 416-17.

³⁰ Robbins to Winholtz, 17 February 1949.

the members exclaimed how pleased they were to see her and expressed surprise that she had not been attending. It was as if they were not even aware of the problem.

Nor were the prejudices expressed only at a local level. In the early 1930s, an old priesthood member named Philemon Pement moved to Battle Creek. He was a dynamic and well-read minister who, according to Robbins, helped to revitalize the local branch. He was elected branch president by the members, but the ex-pastor and a few supporters opposed his efforts at every turn. They could find no acceptable means of getting rid of Pement until he "preached a sermon on love and brotherhood and how God made of one blood all nations, and we were all descendants of Noah, and how Moses married an Ethiopian woman and how his sister was stricken with leprosy when she rebuked him for it, etc., etc." The opponents of Pement asked the district president to remove him as branch president on the grounds that he had stirred up racial tensions in the congregation. The district president relieved Pement of his responsibilities and asked him to leave Battle Creek. The real issue, Robbins thought, was that the district president and many others in the area opposed Pement's defense of the rights of black members of the congregation. The affair greatly upset Amy, but she was powerless to effect any change, both as a voiceless woman and as an obviously unpopular ethnic minority. Once again, she considered withdrawing from the congregation but felt that she could not deprive herself of needed spiritual sustenance.³¹

The problems of prejudice extended even to the highest levels of the Church, and this also deeply troubled Amy Robbins. In 1920 she attended another reunion at Indian Lake where the guest minister was Reorganization president Frederick M. Smith, a grandson of the founding prophet. "I was very anxious to meet the prophet of God," she wrote, "as it had always been my wont to place saints upon a pedestal, and the president was on the highest of them all, and I felt greatly honored to have this opportunity of meeting him." She commented that when she finally met him the Spirit of God confirmed his prophetic ministry and "As he stood to

³¹ Amy E. Robbins to Wilford E. Winholtz, 18 March 1949, copy in my possession.

speak that morning, he was, in my eyes, a little lower than an angel; a chosen representative of Christ; a man of God who was to lead us, the people of God, to Zion.* Then Smith began his remarks by talking about a "nigger" who worked for him. Amy wrote poignantly:

I did not remember anything more that was said in that talk. I don't think in all my life I ever had such a hurt, such a bitter disappointment, my angel, or saint, or prophet had fallen from the pedestal on which I had placed him. Many eyes were turned on me and my aunt, the only colored people on the grounds. My eyes were filled with tears, my face burned with shame and humiliation and I at once felt like an outsider, an outcast with no part in the Zionite scheme because I was what the Prophet would call a "nigger." As soon as the benediction was pronounced I fled to my tent where I gave way to my bitter tears; my weekend was spoiled and I wanted to go home.⁵²

In fact, she left the reunion as soon as she could get a ride, disappointed and chagrined that the prophet could be just a "man" subject to all the prejudices of any other.

Amy Robbins's powerlessness in the face of these discriminatory actions was very real. She perceived clearly that as a black woman she had no access to the normal channels of administration. But even with all internal mechanisms for justice shut in her face, she was unwilling to leave the Church. Why? Although any social dynamic has multiple sources, certainly Robbins's strongest motivation was her firm commitment to the ideals of the Reorganization even in the face of internal prejudices. Her writings were laced with statements of belief and commitment. Perhaps the most telling evidence of this was her poetry, primitive but emotional and powerful. One poem, "The Restoration," captured the angles of Amy Robbins's life and belief.

The Church was brought out of the wilderness,
The gospel gifts have all been restored.
Showing forth God's love and great tenderness,
'To all those who put all their trust in the Lord.

⁵² Robbins, "My Experience as a Negro," 4.

If man will have faith and truly repent,
Be baptized and his sins washed away,
The gifts from above will surely be sent
As promised in this latter day.

True to form the prophet in this latter day
Gave his life as a martyr for Truth,
He searched in the scriptures to find the true way
And God called him while yet in his youth.

And so God has in these latter days,
Made available to man a new birth,
Faith, repentance, baptism, just as in old ways
When Jesus was here on the earth.

Let us spread glad tidings of the restoration
And work while it is yet called today
Until we have reached out into every nation
And spread the gospel of truth all the way.³³

Her son Russell urged her to "leave those ungodly, sinning, scornful Church members alone," and a few of her children were driven away or sustained some periods of inactivity.³⁴ However, she remained a committed member, and she searched for ways to better the situation.

This search became more active as time passed. Perhaps she became less timid, perhaps maturity brought greater appreciation of what was at stake, perhaps the changes in the larger American society made it easier to speak out on these issues, and perhaps she eventually decided that the issue was significant enough for her to risk injuring others' feelings. Certainly, she went a long way in her efforts toward overcoming the Church's conservative strictures on her race. For example, during the 1930s, she proposed

³³ Excerpt from Amy E. Robbins, "The Restoration," in "Amy's Poems," part 3, pp. 13-15, photomechanical publication of typescript, n.d., copy in possession of author.

³⁴ V. Russell Robbins to Amy E. Robbins, 21 February 1950.

an alternative branch in Battle Creek that would meet in her house. While she explained this should not have been necessary, it was better than suffering abuse from the local Saints, especially the propensity they had to alienate her children. She wrote: "Since God has accepted us as members of the body of Christ and has acknowledged us as His children, I am unable to understand why the rest of His children would assume the attitude that they were better than their father."³⁵ She obtained this permission, but the mission was never successful at attracting enough attendees to satisfy the local Church leadership and was eventually discontinued. It was revived in the early 1940s under the direction of her son, Arnold, a priest, but it was again discontinued after several months of futile effort.³⁶

About 1946 some members of the Battle Creek branch made it very uncomfortable for the Robbins family to attend services. By then, the family included some of Amy's married children and their children, so they decided to begin meeting in her home again. She did not ask official sanction but independently began a new mission. This time, instead of concentrating on adults, she invited local children who did not attend any services into her home on Sunday mornings for music, fellowship, and religious instruction. These family meetings quickly attracted thirty-five children, and more might have come but for want of space. This mission was successful, and Amy remarked in February 1949:

In the two and one half years that we have been meeting by ourselves we have had two sermons preached by the District Missionary. My son [Arnold] has conducted quite a few Communion Services and has taught us in class the Restoration by E. A. Smith, the Membership Manual, and now we are studying *The Call at Evening*. We are trying to prepare ourselves by study that we might better be able to defend and teach the gospel we know is true.³⁷

³⁵ Robbins, "My Experience as a Negro," 3-4.

³⁶ Robbins to Winholtz, 17 February 1949.

³⁷ Robbins to Winholtz, 17 February 1949. Elbert A. Smith was the son of David H. Smith, the youngest son of Joseph Smith, Jr. His book, *The Restoration: A Study in Prophecy* (Independence: Herald Publishing House, 1946) was a fundamental religious instruction book for the Church for more than a generation. Jessie Warril, *The Call at Evening* (Independence: Herald Publishing House, 1920), was a

Meetings in the Robbins home continued through most of the rest of Amy's life. While it was not a fully satisfactory arrangement, it served its purpose, and Amy Robbins and others were willing to support it.

Perhaps heartened by her success, Amy also raised the issue in a public way with a letter to the editor of the *Saints' Herald* in 1948, responding to an article on the rise of the Church among other cultures and races appearing in an earlier issue. She suggested that the Reorganized Church did not treat all equally because of race. She commented:

As Latter Day Saints, we were given the custody of the Restored Gospel to share equally with every nation, kindred, tongue, and people, and we should be able to say to other races and colors, "Do Not Move—We Are All Equal Here." Instead, many say, "You move out—We are not equal here or anywhere else because your skin is dark." . . .

Why is the gospel of the kingdom preached to the colored people, and why are they baptized into the body of Christ, and why are they confirmed and receive the gift of the Holy Ghost if they are not equal with every other person who obeys the same ordinances?

She concluded with a question about whether the "people of God" would be able to overcome these societal prejudices and carry out the great commission. If not, she believed the Church would ultimately fail.³⁸

Partly because of these developments, in the late 1940s Wilford G. Winholz, a young and idealistic elder in Chicago, sought contact with Amy and her family. He was making a concerted effort to get the Church to acknowledge the inequalities of how it dealt with race and to develop a set of resolutions and a plan of action to reform the institution. Amy willingly supplied information and ideas. Winholz unsuccessfully sponsored resolutions on racial equality at the General Conferences. In 1950 he also assembled the research he had gathered with help from Amy and others into a report to the First Presidency and Joint Council of the Reorganized Church. In it he asked that the

missionary tool masquerading as a novel about conversion and faith.

³⁸ Amy E. Robbins, "Racial Equality," *Saints' Herald* 95 (13 November 1948): 1104.

Church's leadership acknowledge an institutional problem with racial equality and then take the initiative to rectify it.³⁹

Amy Robbins's partnership with Winholtz gave her a long-desired hearing for her situation in Battle Creek. Unable to overcome the prejudices of others alone, she allied herself with a white male who did not have to deal directly with bigotry. It was apparently satisfying, even though the results were not fully satisfactory. It would be the 1960s, in the midst of the civil rights crusade, before the Church officially acknowledged the prejudices that Robbins, Winholtz, and others recognized.⁴⁰

Meanwhile, Amy Robbins was winning many small victories. For example, even when the church mission was operating in her home, she would periodically return to the Battle Creek congregation and be welcomed by all. On one occasion, 14 November 1954, she proudly attended the ordination of her youngest son, LaVern Robbins, to the office of deacon in Lansing, Michigan.⁴¹ "At the age of 35," she recalled, "he consecrated his life to the service of the Master who had spared and protected his life thus far. I am sure if his father was living he would be very proud." Then she added, "LaVern's desire to follow after righteousness has been a great comfort to me, and my prayer is that he and Arnold together in the priesthood will do a great work in building the Church and kingdom of God, and in spreading the light of the restored gospel among the nations."⁴²

³⁹ Wilford G. Winholtz to First Presidency and Members of the Joint Council, 15 March 1950, with a lengthy report and attachments enclosed, copy in my possession. For more information on Winholtz, see Lauritus, *Invisible Saints*, 212-15.

⁴⁰ See Lauritus, *Invisible Saints*, 219-54; Russell, "A Priestly Role for a Prophetic Church," 45-49; and Love, "The First Presidency's Response to the Civil Rights Movement," 41-50. Consistent with its earlier history, the Reorganized Church again mirrored the larger American society by breaking down racial barriers that it had earlier maintained.

⁴¹ In spite of the periodic emergence of racial prejudices, and certainly because of Amy Robbins's perseverance, with the exception of Russell Robbins all of her children remained active in the Reorganization after her death. Members of this family are leaders of the Reorganization to the present. One of her grandchildren, Richard W. Hawks, is one of the Seven Presidents of Seventy.

⁴² Robbins, "Just Amy," 57-58.

Less than two years later, Amy Robbins died in Battle Creek on 24 April 1956 at the age of seventy-two. She penned a fitting epitaph for herself seven years earlier. She testified that "God's work shall roll on no matter what vain attempts man may make, . . . we believe in the precious truths of the gospel, which . . . will, in time, go out indiscriminately to *all races and colors*. We believe that the work of the Lord will be accomplished and Zion will be built up as a place for the Saints of God, without segregation and discrimination."⁴³

How can one assess the life of Amy Robbins? Frozen out of the mainstream of Church life, she clung to her beliefs and worked within the circumscribed avenues available to her toward ridding the Reorganized Church of bigotry. She did not live to see these problems overcome; indeed, they are still very much present. A black woman who joined the Reorganized Church in 1905, the granddaughter of slaves, she spent the next fifty years worshipping with the Saints, rejoicing in the Restoration concept, and trying to overcome racial prejudice. Robbins never held priesthood office nor any branch office more significant than Sunday School secretary. She never occupied a pulpit. A happily domestic woman, she reacted to the world on a personal level. No ideological reformer operating from intellectual premises, she defended herself and her children, as best she could, from the wrenching effects of racial prejudice in a Christian church.

Much earlier, the Apostle Paul spoke to another minority group of Christians disdained by a majority group when he wrote to the Galatians: "There is neither Jew nor Greek, there is neither bond nor free, there is neither male nor female: for ye are all one in Christ Jesus" (Gal. 3:28). Amy Robbins, by her practice and, perhaps even more, by her unflinching presence, wounded though she sometimes was, held that ideal before her family, her congregation, and the Reorganized Church.

⁴³ Robbins to Winholtz, 17 February 1949.

"A Weary Traveler": The 1848-50 Diary of Zina D. H. Young

Edited by Marilyn Higbee

"AS I HAVE FILLED my little book that I commenced in Nauvoo with daily occurrences and I am now safe in the valley through the mercies of my Heavenly Father and as we are to acknowledge his hand in all things, so also do I in this."

So begins Zina's 1848-50 diary.¹ Her trek, from New York to

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¹ Zina began keeping a diary in Nauvoo (1844-45), soon before the deaths of Joseph and Hyrum Smith. This diary is located in the Zina D. H. Young Collection (MS 6240), at the Historical Department Archives, Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints (hereafter LDS Church Archives) along with papers, letters, and two diaries of 1846 and 1849, which contain only a few scattered entries. See Maureen Orsenbach Beecher, "All Things Move in Order in the City": The Nauvoo Diary of Zina Diantha Huntington Jacobs, *BYU Studies* 19 (Spring 1979): 285-320. This 1848-50 diary, miscellaneous papers and records from 1850-92, autobiographical sketches, poetry, an 1898 interview about Zina's polygamous relationship with Joseph Smith conducted in 1898 by W. G. Wight, a biography by Benjamin Franklin Johnson, and various blessings that Zina received are located in the collection of Zina's granddaughter, Zina C. Brown, also at the LDS Church Archives (MS 4780). Many collections of family and friends contain other letters written to and by Zina. Because of the number of individuals in this essay with the same surname(s) as Zina, I refer to her throughout by her first name.

Ohio, to Missouri, to Nauvoo, and then to Utah, was over. But ironically, it was at this point—"safe" and settled in a house on the log row with the rest of Brigham Young's wives, that Zina called herself "a weary traveler," not once, but several times; and her physical fatigue is frequently mentioned in her diary. Enmeshed in an extended network of family and friends, she felt abandoned to loneliness. Struggling with the physical, emotional, and spiritual demands of her life, she recorded a prayer in her diary: "O Lord I feel to cry to Thee for strength day by day." Much of her diary is given over to daily chores, the modest triumphs of house-keeping, the quiet worries and joys of motherhood, the meetings and encounters of a Mormon woman in Salt Lake City that make this journal an important social document; but it is Zina's soul-sharing that make this diary unusual for its period.

This brief period, 1848-50, came at the crossroads of her life—after the turmoil of Nauvoo where, without becoming a widow she became a wife twice more, first to Joseph Smith, then to Brigham Young—and before she found and settled into a recognized social position as one of Brigham Young's connubial wives, the mother of his child, the companion of the redoubtable women's leader Eliza R. Snow, a graceful practitioner of the spiritual gifts of speaking in tongues and healing, and a future president of the as-yet-uncrystallized Relief Society. It is possible to see the two years spanned by this diary as a time of coming to terms with her past, accepting her present, and preparing for her future.

Zina Diantha Huntington was born 31 January 1821 in Waretown, Ontario County, New York—the eighth child and last daughter of William Huntington and Zina Baker. The family converted to the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints in 1835 and moved with the Saints first to Kirtland, Ohio, then to Jackson County, Missouri, and on to Nauvoo, Illinois. In Nauvoo at age nineteen, Zina married Henry Bailey Jacobs on 7 March 1841. Seven months later, on 27 October 1841 her brother sealed her in a spiritual marriage to Joseph Smith that Henry witnessed, and on 2 January 1842 she gave birth to her first son, Zebulon William Jacobs.² Almost two years after the death of Joseph Smith, Zina

² For a fuller discussion of this controversial episode and the details of Zina's

was sealed to Brigham Young "for time" (mortality) on 2 February 1846, while Henry was serving a church mission. Only a few weeks later, on 22 March 1846, after leaving Nauvoo and crossing the Chariton River, she gave birth to a second son, Henry Chariton Jacobs. Brigham Young instructed Henry to take another wife, and he obediently complied; though he continued to write letters filled with grief and love to Zina until Brigham Young forbade the correspondence in 1852. By that point, Zina had given birth to her first daughter and last child, Zina Presendia Young, on 3 April 1850 at age twenty-nine. Zina never mentions Henry in this diary. After the reorganization of the Relief Society in 1867, Zina worked closely with Eliza R. Snow Smith Young, traveling throughout Utah's scattered settlements, and succeeding her as president of the Relief Society in 1887. When the Salt Lake Temple opened in 1893, Zina became its first matron. She died on 29 August 1901 in Salt Lake City.

Zina D. H. Young is one of the most enigmatic characters in Mormon history. As wife of two prophets, she gained a higher measure of ecclesiastical and social power than most women. Her diary reveals her as a woman of faith, obedience, introspection, independence, and compassion. More importantly, they reveal her struggling with the task of all believers, whether conscious or unconscious—to translate ideals into a reality that can be lived with day to day.

Zina, like her contemporaries, struggled to meet two ideals. On the one hand, nineteenth-century American frontier women were expected to work as hard as the men and sometimes harder as they crossed the plains and established homes in the wilderness. On the other hand, they were expected to preserve the Victorian qualities of "piety, purity, submissiveness, and domesticity"³ that were presumed to assure America's morality and vigor. To those pressures, Zina and other Mormon women added

marriage to Henry Jacobs, see Martha Sonutag Bradley, "Plurality, Patriarchy, and the Priestess: Zina D. H. Young's Nauvoo Marriages," forthcoming in *Journal of Mormon History*, Spring 1994.

³ Barbara Welter, "The Cult of True Womanhood: 1820-1860," *American Quarterly* 18 (1966): 151-74.

the religious demands of following a living prophet and the social and personal demands of reconstructing marriage in the celestial order of polygamy. This thirty-page diary reveals a woman who, essentially alone, struggled to find her place in a new world and who often found her only solace in hoping for a better world in an afterlife, remembering her beloved dead, and speaking of death with both dread and fascination. An outgoing woman, she obviously enjoyed socializing, seeking in the support of friends the needed renewal of faith and strength that she also sought in prayer and pondering.

Spiritual renewal also came in the "refreshings" of spiritual gifts which she regularly experienced in informal meetings with neighbors and friends, participation in the fasts and the formal meetings of the Church, and her service to men and women of all ages—she served them as midwife, healer, and confidant. They reciprocated by inviting her to share meals and stay overnight. The list of visits made and received, both social and business, to render or receive a service, or attendance at meetings, is formidable. Among Zina's most frequent visitors were Brigham Young's other wives.⁴

Her two little boys accompanied her on these adult visits so routinely that she seldom mentions their presence, although she also apparently left them alone at night after they were asleep. Next to God, however, her greatest emotional support came from her older sister Presendia, followed closely by her brothers Dimick, Oliver, and William. At this point, both parents were dead; and Zina's grief when Oliver left Salt Lake City to return to the states and her joy when William arrived revealed their unusually strong sibling love.

Perhaps the diary's greatest contribution is its record of Zina's polygamous relationship with Brigham Young and the parallel situation of Presendia's plural marriage to Heber C. Kim-

⁴ See Appendix 4 for a list of the women Brigham Young married before 1850. Zina refers to many of these sister wives in her diary—sometimes by their first and last names, sometimes by just their first name, and often by a shortened name or nickname. Her frequent reference to "the girls" appears to refer to any group of younger wives, not a set or clique.

ball. Her brothers provided most of her financial support, though she taught school when her health and the weather permitted and took in sewing. Although Zina disliked the loneliness that often enveloped her as she sat by her small stove, she resisted the gradual loss of her independence as Brigham Young drew her physically and emotionally into his household. She records both formal and informal contacts with Brigham Young, but her tone is that of faithful religious follower, rather than affectionate wife. For example, on 17 March 1849, she lamented: "My father and mother are not. Joseph is not. Brigham Young is very kind indeed."

In addition to the topics of polygamy, family, and social activity, Zina's diary also illuminates the topics of health, education, Indian relations, religious activity, and living conditions in pioneer Utah. It will serve historians in many fields.

The diary consists of seventeen 8" x 10" leaves, folded and saddle-stitched along the fold. Although the faded ink is nearly illegible on many of the pages, the pages are intact. The diary entries begin with 24 September 1848 and end with 12 August 1850. The appendices include a January 1849 list of Joseph Smith's "Rules of Behavior for Youth," copied on two pages before daily entries begin, and a June 1850 list of "Similitudes from the Vegetable Kingdom" on the inside front cover. The diary has occasional gaps, the most extensive of which occurs from February to June 1850 when her daughter was born and a close friend died.

Zina regularly confused the dates, correcting herself on the first of the month, holidays, and birthdays. Correct dates appear in brackets where necessary. I mark the few illegible words with an editorial [?] and, where a word was difficult to decipher, bracket my hypothesis with a question mark. Where entries abruptly end or where leaves are left blank, I insert italicized editorial comments in brackets.

I have clarified spelling only where I felt it was necessary but have added most of the capitals and periods at the beginnings and endings of sentences for reading ease. The parentheses and the few underlinings are Zina's. I clarified her use of commas in separating names in lists. I separated words that run together and removed repeated words. Zina's recording of names was as inconsistent as her spelling. Heber C. Kimball can be "Bro. Kimball," "H

C Kimball,* or "HCK." Brigham Young is almost always "BY." I give full names or reasonable guesses wherever possible at first mention.⁵

DIARY, 1848-50

November 3 [1848] The Vally of the great salt lake⁶

As I have filled my little book that I commenced in Nauvoo with daily occurrences and I am now safe in the vally through the merces of my heavenly Father & as we are to acknowledge his hand in all things so also do I in this. We arived in the vally about 12 oclock with a greatful [word omitted] to embrace our dear friends from whom we had ben so long seperated. And under the peculiar circumstasens as this People have ben placed, [it] filled each bosom with joy and as all countainances bespoke health and gratitude. Ah hapy day a long to be rembered. We came in on wednes day. The time was mostly spent in visiting.

Sunday [Sept] 24. Went to meeting truly enjoyed it. The 25 we moved one mile from the Fort.⁷ In a few days BY moved into a house that he Purchased of [blank]. We ware near City creek. How beautiful is the water pure cold right from the mountains. In the couce of 3 weeks the Girls ware most all situated some down in the fort. Emiline & Margret⁸ in there waggon on there lot where there house will be

⁵ Zina's social circle was wide, and Salt Lake's society was fluid. "Sister Snow" could have meant any one of fifteen women living in her neighborhood between 1848 and 1850. By consulting the Ancestral File of the LDS Church and Susan Easton Black's *Membership of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, 1830-1848*, 50 vols. (Provo, Utah: Brigham Young University/Religious Studies Center, 1989), I was able to determine the identity of perhaps a third of the people Zina mentions and guess, I believe successfully, at another third. The last third remain mysterious. Unless otherwise noted, biographical information in the notes comes from Black's.

⁶ Zina apparently wrote this heading after she had been keeping her diary for two months, perhaps at the same time she copied down Joseph Smith's maxims on the previous page. (See Appendix 3.)

⁷ The fort, designed to house 160 families, was built on Block 48, bounded by Third and Fourth South, and Second and Third West. General Authorities built log houses on its east side. Other families built adobe houses on the other three sides, forming a perimeter wall nine feet high and twenty-seven inches thick. At a conference on 8 October 1848, the pioneers decided to distribute city lots outside the fort. Brigham Young and others began to move their families to their new locations immediately. Kate D. Carter, *Our Pioneer Heritage* (Salt Lake City: Daughters of the Utah Pioneers, 1958), 1:118-20, 9:92-95.

⁸ Plural wives of Brigham Young, they appear as a pair throughout the diary.

built. I had many good seasons & especially with sister Rockwood. Presendia & sister Bower [Bowker]⁹ came up. Presendia was sick and stayed up there 6 days. We viseted sister Atwood [Relief Cram Atwood?] & enjoyed it much. Sister Lorenz[o] Young [Persis Goodall Young or Harriet Page Wheeler Young] sent her some boiled vittuals that was truly a treat. My wagon with Myself & 2 little boys & Martha B[owker] ware the last on the ground. BY had spoken to me about my Brothers getting me a house. My Brother Dimick bought one with 2 rooms.

Monday Oct 16. Presendia went home. I washed Monday Tuesday & Wednesday thursday, I starched & Ironed & Sister Rockwood & Ellen,¹⁰ Martha & myself fasted & Prayed that we mught be blest and be guilded by the trew speret and for the advancement of the work. Spent the afternoon together very hapily.

Friday the 20. Oliver came with a team after me. BY had told me he was coming after me. A very pleasant day. Mr [William Wesley] Willis [Sr.] had not moved out the room. Was not plesent as there wore 8 children.

The 22 they moved.

23. I white washed the room. Oliver assisted me. Took up the floor &c.

25 [24] Tuesday. It rained. Presendia is not able to do any work that keeps me very buisy. We have company most evry day as my scool is soon to commence.

Wednesday 26 [25]. Quite cold. Presendia & I viseted at Hoeman Heides [Heman Hyde, Sr.]. Had a good viset and an excelent supper. BY called and gave me an invitation to come up to his house tomorrow.

Thursday. I attended a very agreeable viset at his house. The Family ware mostly *[incomplete entry]*

Sundy [Dec] 10, even[ing]. The second quorum met in my room as usually. Had a good meeting.

Monday Dec 11th, 1848. This morning My sister Presendia moved. There was some snow on the ground. It has been very cold, but the wether more moderate this morning. P's health is very poor indeed scarcely able to walk. The room smoked s[o] that it was almost unsuferable and the noise of the scool and the children in the joining room was more than she could endure and her strength was daily wasting away. How plesently have the hours and days pased since we ware bles with the privilege of enjoying each others society but again are we to be

Emmaline Fraz and either Margaret Pierce or Margaret Alley.

⁹ Martha Bowker, a year younger than Zina, had become a plural wife to Brigham Young at about the same time.

¹⁰ Nancy Haven Rockwood was married to Albert P. Rockwood. Her daughter Ellen had married Brigham Young as a plural wife 21 January 1846 at age sixteen.

separated. O God our heavenly Father wilt thou be mindful of us continually. 7 years ago to day since Presendia was sealed to Joseph Smith (And how many were our reflections this day.¹¹

Tuesday 12. This day George Buell is 19 years old. It is [h]is oldest son and for is [to] be separated from us amongst the gentiles. I trust he will soon be in our midst.

Wednesday 13. I spent the evening mending Dinwicks & Olivers coats at Dinwicks presently.

Thursday 14. This night I am truly weary. I often feel the infermites of my mortal body and being weary with excessive labour of both minde and body.

Friday 15. Spent the evening with Louisa, Clara & Susan Snively.¹² Louisa is making me a black dress. About [9?] Presendia sent for me. Frances Swan & Maryann Shefflen¹³ wore there. We had most an excellent viset. [P?] & I stayed all night. Saturday Presendia dreamed a dream.

[blank space]

Saturday 16. Oliver wated upon Julia and I to the 2 Quorum of the 70ers at 1 o'clock PM. Br Higgins¹⁴ the Pres & Pres Hereman [Henry Hariman] als[o] Sonoman Hancock made some very appropriate remarks comfiting instructing encouraging &c. Had an excellent supper & beer to drink. All very nice. All thing in order. Music and dancing. Wm W Felps also spoke very well and Frastus Snow closed about 11. It is the 3rd year I have met with the 2nd quorum.¹⁵

Sunday 17. I attended a meeting a[t] [mr?] Felps Scholroom. He red the 5 chapter of Matthew from the original Greek as he had translated it. I borrowed the book & red it to the girls and Presendia. It was very interesting. (George Bold [George Washington Boyd] took

¹¹ Her husband at that time, George Buell, was not a Mormon. See also Bradley, "Plurality, Patriarchy, and the Priestess." Like Zina's marriage to Joseph, Presendia's was a sealing "for eternity."

¹² All three were plural wives of Brigham Young: Louisa Bearman, Clarissa Decker or Clarissa Chase, and Susan Snively.

¹³ Frances Jessie Swan and Mary Ann Shefflen were also plural wives of Heber C. Kimball.

¹⁴ Nelson Higgins, born in 1806 in Orswey, Canada, had been captain of Company D of the Mormon Battalion.

¹⁵ Hariman had been called in 1838 to replace John Gaylord as one of the seven presidents of the First Quorum of the Seventies, organized in 1835 in Kirtland. Levi Ward Hancock (see next day's entry) was one of its original presidents. Zina regularly notes these quorum meetings, many of which were apparently held in her home. Although the social component was obviously important, she nowhere describes the specific content of these meetings.

supper here). The 2 quorum met here as usual. I enjoy the meetings much as there are many noble ideas advanced. Levi Hancock was here. Serenius Tator [Cyrus Henry Taylor] lent me one dollar to purchase corn with.

Monday 17th [18]. It has snowed through the night so that my school is not as large as usual. Quite cold. I had Zehuluns coat finished today. Sets well. Charles [Cook?] came in & we had an agreeable chat.

Tuesday Dec 18th [19] 1848. Quite pleasant. A full school & a spelling school in the evening.¹⁶ All things went in good order. What a blessing it is when the shades of night draw round to place our tender offsprings in a peaceful bed and place a fond Mothers kiss on there blooming cheeks and raise a fervent desire to the throne of Grace for there future well fare. O God my heavenly Father do bless my 2 little sons in coming life.

19, 20. Went to sister crosbys [Caroline Barnes Crosby?] and spun before school. A full school today.

21. I am weary this night obliged to retire early. O morality how oft art thou perceived by me. Do strengthen me O Lord I pray Thee.

Friday 22. BY called thought I had better dismiss school the coming week. I had a writing school in the evening. After the school was dismissed & all retired in the house I dipped [dipped] candles and cleaned up the dishes. Retired half past one. Sweet is rest to the weary Pilgrim. They had a dance in Lewes Robisons [Lewis Robinson's] room. I could hear very [plume?].

Saturday, 23d, 1848. Washed & scarcely were cleaned up when Singing school commenced. Borrowed [\$?] 1 dollar of Cyrus Tator to send to mill. Very tired to night.

Sunday, 24. I went to Judge Folps school room to meeting. Enjoyed it much. Went home with Eliza B T.S. and took supper. Had a good meeting in the evening.

Monday 25 [Christmas]. Spent the day with the Girls in the fort in Loises [Louisa's] room. Had a beautiful supper but no bed therefore it was rather Lonely. In the evening Father Chace [Ezra Chase?], Oliver BH & Brother Pierce came in & sung some songs & hims and conversed upon the things pertaining to salvation. A very agreeable evening. Oliver came home with me.

¹⁶ Concerned about education not just for their children but also for themselves, the pioneers regularly held spelling, writing, singing, and other schools in the evenings for adults. In 1847, while Zina's brother Oliver was teaching the first school in the valley during the day, Curtis E. Bolton taught French at night (see Carter's *Our Pioneer Heritage*, 17:68). In 1848, W. W. Phelps also began a school in the North Fort with several evening classes for adults. These classes appear to be as much social as they were educational.

Tuesday 26. Louisa and I walked up to see Lucy,¹⁷ Emiline & Margret. The snow was some what bad but a pleasant day. BY came down after me but I mist of [missed] him. Emiline was not well. Stayed all night with Lucy. L & I had our times at the supper table——.¹⁸ BY spent the evening with us very a greebly. Red in the book of covenants the vision &c. It was truly comforting. Spake of woman and the situation &c. It should have ben writen wombmman. O Lord when will thou unvail thy self. When will we know things as they truly are have ben & will exist.

Wednesday 27. Spenst most of the day with Emiline. Washed her &c. She is very sick. L & I took supper with them. We stayed with Lucy.

Thursday 28. We rode home with BY & Porter [Rockwell]. A fine slay [sleigh] ride. In the evening I attended a party whare Adeson Prat [Addison Pratt] & wife [Louisa Barnes Pratt] ware. They sung in the tongue of the natives of the Sandwich Islands. It was very interesting.

Friday 29. I went to Father Gibs with Margret Pierce & Emily [Daitray?]. Had a good viset in the evening. We red over the blessings. It was interesting. Had a few words in tongs¹⁹ to comfort us. Stayed all night with Margret.

Saturday 30. Margret & I went to the Gold Smith with Porter to have our waches refaced. A nice slay ride. Met sister [Palmer] on the rode. She had lost a [budget?] &c———. Viset with Emily at Mothers. Had a good viset & a good singing school at my house in the evening. Sister [Emily Holman?] Lewis lent me a flat Iron.

Sunday 31,t A.D. 1848. Attended meeting in Br Felps school room. Had a good meeting. The 70 tes met as usual. Had a good time. Now out of wood. A most cold wether.

Monday Jan, 1, A,D, 1849. I washed this morning & took supper at Dimicks. Presendia was at Br Kimbles as all the family wore together. We have lived to see the dawn of another year while many now sleep the sleep of death. Ah how our thoughts wunder after our friends that are dear to us. O Lord help me to honour the[e]. Open our eyes. O Lord give me wisdom & knowledge I humbly [pray] Thee in the name of Jesus.

Tuesday 2. Commenced School again. My health is some what

¹⁷ Brigham Young's plural wives at this point included both Lucy Ann Decker and Lucy Bigelow.

¹⁸ Zina has put looped markings here and in other places in the diary that seem to be her way of avoiding saying something negative or sensitive. Here, it seems to mean, "and well, you know. . . ."

¹⁹ Note that Zina differentiates between "tongue," meaning a native language, and "tongs," meaning the gift of tongues, a consistent spelling differentiation. See Dan Vogel and Scott C. Dunn, "Tongues of Angels: Glossolalia among Mormonism's Founders," this issue.

Improved by resting. Had a writing school. The children brought in wood so that we were comfortable.

Wednesday 3. A full school. I went to Prayer meeting to Dimicks. Had an excelent meeting. Peace union & Love ware felt and seen. After I returned home He Boid prayed with us and we had a few words in tongs to Br Boid. It cheered [and] comforted our hearts.

Thursday 4. Bought one cord of wood of Tyann Wells [Walls?]. Welcome is a little fuel. Sister Achly [Ashby] was here in the evening. A lamanite girl by the name of Adalade is coming to school²⁰ thus fulfilling Old Father Smiths words on my head when but 14 years old.²¹

Friday 5. Welcome a day of rest. Once more closed school. Quite weary tonight but now will rest 2 days.

Saturday 6. Sewing to day and cleaning up the house &c. In the evening we had a singschool. Louisa brought me some tallow.

Sunday 7th, 1849. While on the road coming here Oliver gave me some razons. I told him I would make him a pudding if he would wate until new years in the vally. I accordingly thought to fulfil my promis. Fanny,²² sister Twist [Twiss], Cyrenis Talo, Br & Sister Balis took supper with me. We enjoyed it much a nice rice pudding &c. Truly is it a blessing to meet with our friends. In the evening I went with Sister Balis to He Boach's to meeting. It was the 27 Quorum. A good meeting. Sister Smith²³ Hrrums wlddo 2 [too] spoke in tongs. It was put uppon me to interpret.

²⁰ The first policy the pioneers adopted toward the Indians in the region was peaceful. Many Saints purchased slave children and raised them in their homes. This policy was consistent with the Mormon belief that the Indians were descendants of the Lamanite peoples of the Book of Mormon. Zina's other references to contact with Indians demonstrate this policy. With time and experience, however, the pioneers began to deal less peacefully with the Indians. For two different views on the topic, see Lawrence G. Coates, "Brigham Young and Mormon Indian Policies: The Formative Period, 1836-1851" in *BYU Studies* 18 (Spring 1978): 428-52, and Howard A. Christy, "Open Hand and Mailed Fist: Mormon-Indian Relations in Utah, 1847-52" in *Utah Historical Quarterly* 46 (Summer 1978): 216-35.

²¹ Patriarchal Blessing in Zina C. Brown Collection, MS 4780, box 3, fld. 8, LDS Church Archives.

²² Fanny Maria Allen Huntington, born 26 October 1810 in Lorraine, Jefferson County, New York, was the first wife of Zina's brother, Dimick. See also Marianne Pernichante, "Backlash Against Formalism: Early Mormonism's Appeal in Jefferson Connty," this issue, for a discussion of the Huntington family's New York background.

²³ Mary Fielding, born 21 July 1801 in Honington, Rutlandshire, England, had become the plural wife of Heber C. Kimball after the death of her first husband, Hyrum Smith.

Monday 8. Commenced school a gain. In the evening I went to Presendia's. She has ben sick all night. Mother Hyde [Hyde], Sister Ashby [Ashby] & Louisa, we sat up until one. She appeared a little better. We redred to rest. Had a good nights rest. I dreamed of seeing Mother Cutler. She appeared Low spereted.²⁴

Tuesday 9 1849. Continued my school until half past 11. Mother miles [Mariah Voits Miles?] came after me. At 15 minets past 12 AM She [Presendia] had a fine daughter. The above named company was there. The babe came near perishing but survived. After supper Br Kimble came in, the Father of the child, and blest it calling it Presendia.²⁵ Great ware the blessing sealed uppon the child's head.

Wednesday. 10. Had writing school in the evening. I was not able to sit up after the school was out. In the daytime lade down until the schollars ware all in. Br George Hoid hapened in. He was kinde enough to [?]. It was a favour in deede.

Thursday 11. School as usual.

Friday 12. Lucy Bigla [Bigelow] & Ellen Rockwood took diance with me. Enjoyed it much. In the evening By came to my house and accompaned me over to Br Mc Mullens and Spaldings [Ira N. Spaulding?]. We had a nice supper and enjoyed it well. On our walk home we had a few words concerning Josephs kingdom. Sister Vanfleet & Elza m Mellon was here & had spent the evening.

Sat, 13. In the morning I washed some & Charles Hyde [Charles Walker Hyde] called in the afternoon. Oliver & I went to Sister Twists. BY & Br Bullock took supper there. She lives in with Phineas Cook [Phineas Wolcott Cook]. Sister Cobb²⁶ was there. We had the best supper I have eaten in the vally the mince pie & goosberry tarts in particular. In the evening Oliver & I went down to Adison Prats there connexlon [consios?] ware invited in. Had some music singing and relating events of past life. Truly interesting. I felt it a duty as the spereit rested uppon me in obedience there unto agreeable to my former covenants with God to obey him. I arose and sung some and spoke in tongs Leaving the event in the hands of him who bade me speak. Enjoyed the evening much (By & HCK ware there).

Sunday 14. Attended meeting. Willard snows second wife was buried. Had a daughter born a bout half an hour before her death.²⁷

²⁴ Susanne Barton Cutler, wife of Harmon Cutler, had died 21 November 1840 in Nauvoo.

²⁵ Presendia Celestia Kimball was Presendia Huntington's first child by Heber C. Kimball.

²⁶ Augusta Adams Cobb, born in 1802, had become Brigham Young's fifth plural wife in 1843.

²⁷ Willard Trowbridge Snow, brother of Heastus Snow, had married Susan Harvey

Amacy Limon [Amasa Lyman] & BY spoke. It was truly the words of comfort & life to [t]he hungry soul. Mother Sessions²⁸ & I stoped to Loises. Louisa came home with me to meeting. Jedidah Grant, John Young & Henry Heriman spoke. We had a good meeting. I went home with Louisa & stayed all night.

Monday 14 [15]. After school had a spelling school. Good order. Then went to Prescendas and stayed all night with her. She is some better. Ellen Sanders & I set up and conversed upon the things of the kingdom and on experience until after three in the morning. She has ben tried since the death of her babe but now feels a renewing of her light & strength.²⁹ (Sunday she went up and got some sperets of Br Kimble for [?]. May the Lord bless her for ever. O long will this viset be remembered by us.

Tuesday 15 [16]. After school I attended writing school with Oliver. He pays my tuition & after we returned home we set down and passed a few sentences. It was very agreeable. I will now retire to rest it being after ten and the Indians are now amassing themselves in the next room gambling. They are anovsome nose [noise] when [one] is weary and wishes to rest. Many are my reflections when I view Isreal in her low and fallen state. O Lord be merciful I Pray Thee.

Wednesday 16 [17]. I attended meeting at my Brother Dimicks.³⁰ Had truly a refreshing time.

Thursday 17 [18]. My Br. Oliver, Henry Gibson & wife, & sister Egan viseted at my house. They left about 9 o'clock in the evening. Oliver & I enjoyed ourselves alone. How Sweet is the communion of a true friend and long to be remembered by me even a kinde word or look. I went and got supper nice pan cakes butter and molasses &

14 May 1837. She died after giving birth to their daughter Susan. Black, *Membership*. Frank Eashom, *Pioneers and Prominent Men of Utah* (Salt Lake City: Western Epics, 1966), records this birth and death as taking place 25 January 1848; Zina says it occurred a few days before 14 January 1849.

²⁸ Patty Bartlett Sessions, born 4 February 1795 in Bethel, Oxford County, Maine, had, like Zina, been sealed to Joseph Smith as a spiritual wife while still married to her husband (David Sessions); unlike Zina, she was not sealed to another Church official after Joseph's death.

²⁹ Ellen Sanders, born in 1824 or 1829 in Thelemarken, Norway, was a plural wife of Heber C. Kimball and one of the three women in the first company to reach the Salt Lake Valley. Her first child, Samuel Chase Kimball, born January 1848, had died July 1848.

³⁰ From this and numerous other references it appears that the Saints, or at least Zina's circle, were regularly holding informal meetings during which they practiced spiritual gifts. "Refreshing," as Zina uses it, means an outpouring of spiritual gifts.

beautiful beef. It reminded me of Father. He [Oliver] spake in tungs. It will be when temples flourish that I see him again after he leaves.³¹ Stayed until 12.

Jan 1849 Friday 17 [19]. After school Sister Balis & I went down to Mary Miles or she that was Mary Bent.³² I stayed all night. Had an agreeable time.

Sat 18 [20]. Stayed home cleaned up and prepared for singing school. Sister Sprague called. Had a good singing school.

Sunday [21]. My health not very good. At Presendes a few moments. A good meeting in the evening. (Oliver is gone on a trading expedition among the indians).

Monday 19 [22]. In the evening 5 of the girls came down and pade me a viset. Dimick called and spent some time with us. Quite agreeable. Ellen Rockwood stayed all night with me. plesent ware the moments that past [passed] no more to return.

Tuesday 20 [23]. I spent the evening at Louises. Julia went to writing shool &c &c.

Wednesday 21 [24]. After day school and writing school ware over I sat down to card. The speret came to me to go over to Dimicks to meeting. I followed it. Had the best of the wine at [t]he last of the feast.³³ Was thankful I went.

Thursday 22 [25].

Friday 23 [26].

Sat 25 [27].

Sunday 26 [28].

Wednesday 31t day of Jan 1849. This day I am 28 years old. Have taught school all day. In the evening I attended meeting at Dimicks. Had an excellent time.

Feb 11, 1849. Had 56 schollars. Thursday A very full school. In the evening Ruth Mosier or Ruth and Nancy Pack³⁴ spent the evening with me. John Scot came after Ruth to go & sit up with [blank].

Friday 2. Quite Tired this night.

Sat 3. Cleaned up the house as usual and had a good singing School.

Sunday 3 [4]. BY came after meeting and had a very agreeable viset.

³¹ Oliver, apparently unsuccessful in persuading his wife, Mary Melissa Neal Huntington, to join him in Utah, was going back to her in New York. See also entry of Sunday, January 7, 1849.

³² Mary Kilburn Bent was born 29 April 1809 in Wendal, Franklin County, Massachusetts, to Samuel Bent and Mary Kilburn Bent. She was sealed to Ira S. Miles in Nauvoo 30 January 1846.

³³ This appears to be an allusion to Christ's miracle at Cana recorded in John 2:1-11.

³⁴ Ruth Mosier and Nancy Booth were both plural wives of John Pack.

He went in to see Father Luce³⁵ in the west room and blest him. Br Jacman [Levi Jackman] was in when he [BY] came in. Br Jacman is a very good man and asked some questions & soon left the room. After meeting as usual I retired to rest. About 3 o'clock in the morning, the quiet slumbers of the night were broken by a rap on the door. Steven Luce wife came in. Father Luce had expired a few moments before 3. She wished me to assist in preparing his clothes. I cheerfully complied with her request. Dimick & Square Wells³⁶ laid out the old Gentleman. He had been sick most the time since he left Nauvoo.

Monday 4 [5] of February, 1849. I taught school for the last day of instructing them. At the close of my School I Talk(ed) to the Children and gave them the best instruction that I could. May the Lord bless the Children & the word spoken to there eternal welfare is my sincere prayer. I closed my school by prayer after reading over the maxims that they had learned through the winter.³⁷ Not one but what shed tears with a heart of Tenderness. We all took the parting kiss. Truly did the children and there Future welfare entwine around my heart. O Father wilt thou bless them I Pray Thee is my fervent Prayer.

Tuesday 5 [6]. Pres BY Preached Father Luce's Funeral Sermon in my room. The room was full. The word spoken was truly comforting. The aged & the weary traveler sleeps in peace and Honour until the morn of the finis(t) resurrection. Having received his endowment [endowment] in the Temple in Nauvoo will rest with the saints that have gone before. I did not go to the grave. It was stormy and cold. In the evening I went in and attended Prayers with the old Lady agreeable to her request. Had a very a greeable interview.

Wednesday 6 [7]. The Children came prepared for there dinner with pies and cakes of various kinds. All very nice & good. After Speaking there Peeces [pieces] that they had Larned sang some &c. Having spent a very plesent forenoon after intermission there dinner was served around 3. Old lades were present and said they never saw so beautiful a sight. 69 schollars well drest and in good order was observed. At one oclock PM Br Vance came in and after his refreshment the Maxims were

³⁵ Malatiah Luce, born 30 January 1772 in Martha's Vineyard, Dukes County, Massachusetts, had been ill since he left Nauvoo. He was being nursed by neighbors and by his wife, Ruth Grant Luce, his son, Stephen Luce, and his daughter-in-law, Mary Ann Wheeler Luce.

³⁶ Daniel Hammer Wells had been an officer in the Nauvoo Legion and soon would be elected major general of the Utah militia in the Great Salt Lake Valley on 26 May 1849. "Square" was Zina's rendering of "Squire"—a title commonly used in the nineteenth century for people of civic importance.

³⁷ Presumably these maxims are those by Joseph Smith copied in the front of the diary. (See Appendix 2.)

recited and a few remarks by Mr Vance & my self. He commenced Playing on the violin it was an interesting scene [scene]. All Partook in the Pleasure of the Dance. At half past 4 it closed. The children then retired in Pleasure & satisfaction to there respective homes no more to meet in time in one assembly as this day has been. Ah fleeting time how dost thou decoy the weary traveler. Childhood pass like a dream age comes creeping on all most unperceived with its cares. But wisdom is profitable to direct in all things. O be thou our constant guide.

Thursday 7th [8]. Spent in cleaning &c.

Friday 8 [9]. Had a number of calls, washed &c.

Sat 9 [10]. A singing school in the evening.

Sunday 11. In the evening Wm Kimble Brought Sister Laury Pitkin³⁸ to live in my room until another place could be provided for her. Meeting at early candle light of the 2 Quorum a the 70 yrs. Had a good meeting.

Monday 12. We commenced our conversation reviewing our past lives. Pleasantly did our hours glide a way. She spoke in tongues of it. Analyzed our [names?] [?] some one called that brighten our sensations cheered us in our retired situation. I washed 3 days this week.

Friday 16. Br Jaeman and sister Curtis visited us in the evening.

Sat 17. A singing school again).

18. Sister Ivie [Malinda Young Ivie?] had a son born. In the evening Presendia & I went to sister Lenards. Sister Vance was there. We bathed our selves and Prayed especially for sister [Ann Marsh] Abbot who is very sick, the cause in general, our friends, our selves that we might always do right &c. We stayed all night. Had an a greeable time.

Monday 19. This week passed very pleasantly. I visited at sister Smoots. She sent for me, Presendia, Eliz Snow, sister Talor, Abigail abbot & Margaret Pierce. Had a nice supper. Enjoyed it much. Sister Robinson visited here the same day that I went a way. I had the house all in order before I left.

Sat 24. Again a singing school.

Sunday 25. The quorums adjourned sinedi³⁹ that is to meet no more this season. I gave the room gratis. They found there wood and candles. I have enjoyed it much this winter although I have worked very hard. Time passed on very a greeable off having most Pressious things from the Lord. By the gifts and Prayer intelligence came to our understandings that cheered and comforted our hearts from time to time. Sister Kimble came

³⁸ William Henry Kimball, born 10 April 1826 in Mendon, Monroe County, New York, was a son of Heber C. and Vilate Kimball; and Laura Pitkin, born 10 September 1790 in Summers, Tolland County, Connecticut, was a plural wife of Heber C. Kimball. As Zina's diary shows, it was common for a plural wife to board with another family.

³⁹ "Sine die" (Latin, "without days") meant no date was set for the next meeting.

in one day and we had an excellent visit. Larry blest her. It was a blessing indeed.

Thursday March 1st 1849. Clarissa Chase came in with me until her child recovered from the whooping cough. Martha Bow[kler] [and] I went to Lewis Robbison's on a visit. Sester Egan was there also. Had a good visit.

9th 10 & 11. I washed bedding &c.

12. BY was elected govener in this place.⁴⁰ It stormed.

13. BY took Dinner with us also uncle John Young. They enjoyed it much.

14 15 16. Clarissa Chase moved up to Emiline and Margrets house near B.Y.'s. I have ben making soup 4 days had good luck. Made some for Dimick & Samuels wife (also for some greece and ?). I got of Br Brower A large bible & 6 Peach trees. Paid mostly in work.

15. Cristene Golden,⁴¹ Presendia & Mother sessions visited me. The Lord was with us.

16. BY stayed all night. In the morning I with all diligence prepared to move. Presendia & Fanny & Dimick came to see me. O affection & gratitude Parental Kindness how lovely how desirable. Now am I to be separated a gain. A new era of things a wares me. I have toiled through the winter. The Lord hath given me strength for which I trust I shall ever be grateful to Him. 33 dollars have I paid for wood this winter. I earned it my self. My school bill amounted to 75 dollars and 86 cts. I feel truly thankful for evry blessing and mercy.

Sat 17, of march 1849. About 2 PM Br Johnson came and loded up my things into the wagon. I left Larry in the House. Many are the reflections of my mind. My Father & mother is not Joseph is not BY is very kind indeed. My Wagon was set near Emiline and Margaret's door. Charles Decker⁴² lives in the same house. My things are to stay in the wagon.

sunday 18. I was not able to get up until in the after noon. My mortality I am often Brought to see [I] very sensibly of times.

Sunday 25. This week has ben spent what time I was able to labour in repairing my clothes and the childrens as I have had hut little time to sew through the winter or since I came into the vally.

⁴⁰ Elections of officers of the provisional government of the State of Deseret took place 12 March 1849. See complete list in Esshom's *Pioneers and Prominent Men of Utah*.

⁴¹ Cristene Golden Kimball, born 12 September 1823 in Hopewell Township, New Jersey, was a plural wife of Heber C. Kimball and mother of J. Golden Kimball.

⁴² Charles Franklin Decker, born 31 June 1824 in Phelps, Ontario County, New York, was married to Brigham Young's daughter, Vilate.

[*leaves missing*]

Time passed very agreeably with the girls—and [*blank*].

Thursday. I went down to the fort to see Dimicks Family before they left for the Utau Vally. Rode down with Br. Busbee. Stayed with Presenda all night. Went and a number of errands [concerning] my school bill &c. Aunt Laury, Sister Leonard a& Sister Vance came in to Presendes. We had a good time. P moved this morning in with Brother Martens [Jesse Bigelow Martin] Family a bout a mile from me. Ah changing [scenes]. Ah Transitory world. How oft do we halve to be seperated from those that are so dear to us whose is trew friendship. How much to be prised in the affectionate bosom of a friend.

Friday. Allen brought me home and carried me back again. As the Young People had the use of the room in the evening I stayed all night with Sister Curtis. She was very kinde to me. Allen brought me home in the morning.

Sat. Dimick and Family started for the utaw vally about 1 o'clock PM. Br. Johnson & BY, Clarrisa, Margret & I [started for Trees?]. Square Wells took supper with us. Had a very agreeable time.

Sunday 31 [April 1].

Monday Apr 1st [2], 1849. I am in my wagon and enjoy many comforting scenes in it.

2 [3] Tuesday, Wednesday 3 [4] Thursday 4 [5]. Harriet Hanks⁴⁵ & BY took dinner here. I learned to work collar by drawing threds.

Friday the 6 of apr. It snowed quite hard last night. I went to see sister Atwood in the morning. She has a beautiful daughter. I had a very agreeable visit. Called at Br Sprugives. Had a refreshing in the girls. He sang sweetly. Conference met & adjourned until the morrow. Ah how many are the scenes that this People have passed through. Ah how many hath stept the sleep of death. Prepare me o Lord for all things that a wate me I humbly besech the in the name of Jesus the Son.

Sat 7. Evening quite cool. Oliver came in to my wagon. Converse upon his leaving. Our hearts were dissolved in tenderness even of a brothers & sisters love and affection yes trew friendship. How comforting the thought that one bosom beams with love joy & trew friendship. O my God how precious how dear how rare. We mingled our tears and sobs in a child like maner in joy and grief. Joy that we wore to gether. In grief that we must be seperated & knew not for how long a period of time. O Father be mindeful. My dear little Chariton sat by my side kept saying Mother do not weep and asked to wipe the tears from mine eyes. O gentleness and affection how dear. Zebulun was a sleep. I retired early.

⁴⁵ Harriet Amelia Decker Little Hanks, born 13 March 1826 in Phelps, Ontario County, New York, had married Ephraim Knowlton Hanks, Sr., in 1848 after the death of her first husband, Edwin Sobieski Little, in 1846.

Dreamed of the indians &c.

Sunday 8. It rained some but we had a meeting. Elder Kimble preached. It was most excelent. B.Y. was not able to attend.

Monday. Asisted in doing the house work.

Tuesday 10. BY took me in the Carage. Very agreeable ride accompaned by Pres HCK. T. Johnson drove the carage to Abert Smiths. Serenus Talor was married to Emily Smith. Ezariah Smiths was married to Miss augusta Talor.⁴⁴ Oliver was there. Evry thing quiet and nice. An excelent supper. All things right. Returned home home just before the sun set in good sperets. This day there was a family meeting. BY & 17 women took supper at our house. All first rate. ~~crossed out: "Preparing Oliver's clothes to leave Thursday 12"~~ In the after noon Louisa, Clary, Margaret, Emiline & Susan & I took supper at sister Rockwoods. BY & Father Chase also. A nice supper. All things agreeable. I went home before dark. Ironed Oliver's clothes & went down to Presendes.

Friday 13. In the morning Sister Morten went away. Dimick Presendia Oliver & I wore alone. P. combed our heds oiled them.⁴⁵ Just as she was through the spect of the Lord rested upon her. She blest Oliver with a mothers blessing. It was great & good. I also blest him and Dimick. Once more 4 of our dear Father's Family ware to gether upon earth. Truly a comfort to behold there faces in time. A joyful thought to behold each other but alas it was our parting blessing. O God I pray thee let us meet again in time in peace & joy. I humbly beseeck thee for thy son sake & thy name shall be prased. Dimick went to Utau [Valley]. His family are there. The Indians had a battle there amongst themselves yesterday. I saw company with there horses. In the afternoon P & I viseted at Wm [Holmes] Walkers. John & Isaac Higbees wives⁴⁶ wore there. Had a good viset. Returned home just as the sun had set. Called at Uncle John Smiths as I returned. Found all things well at home.

Apr 14. A long to be rembered day with me. About one in the afternoon Oliver took his leave. I [lined his?] but this was the last chore I done for him. He ate a hole of milk with me just before he left. He gave me 2 dollars on Ephrem Hanks. He was well fitted out 3 good horses and provision with some money. O Oliver can it be. I shook hands with him

⁴⁴ Albert Smith was the father of Azariah and Emily Smith. Cyrenus and Augusta Taylor were also brother and sister. Azariah and Emily divorced in 1855 reportedly because he suffered from epilepsy. Azariah Smith, *Autobiography*, LDS Church Archives, Ms/d/2050, 15, 7, #6.

⁴⁵ This appears to be a form of anointing in preparation for the blessings they exchanged. Other references in Zina's diary seem to indicate the regular practice of washings and anointings before blessings.

⁴⁶ John Somers Higbee was married to Sarah Ann Voorhees at the time. Isaac Higbee, Jr., was married to Keziah String, Charlotte Woods, and Eliza Darling.

after he was on his horse but ah for the last time perhaps for years.

Sunday, 15. I went to meeting. Enjoyed it much. Father [Reynolds] Cahoon & Lorenzo Snow spoke & Uncle John Young, very much to the purpose. [The latter?] spoke & the brethren they never would have a better time to sanctify themselves before the Lord then the present. 11 of us went up to visit Louises childrens graves.⁴⁷ Louisa & I called at Sister Rockwoods. We had a blessing in the gifts.

Monday 16. As I sat in my wagon with a hart tender as if berieved of a dear friend meditating I was aroused by a knock on the wagon. BY came to inform me a room was finished &c, &c, &c. O did I not seek a lone retreat beside a murmuring [rill oer?] the water rolled over a fall of about 3 feet whare the sound of my voice would not be herd there. I wept yes wept bitterness of Soul y[e]a sorrow and tears that wore rung from a heavy hart. Sadness for a while took her seat in my hart and reigned Predominet for a short time. I could exclaim O Lord have mercy on me. Yes I did say it with all my heart & I believe he will hear me in his own time and answer me. About 4 PM I moved into the room.

Tuesday 17. Employed in setting things to rights.

Wednesday 18th, 19 Friday 20. Malissa Lot⁴⁸ called. Had an agreeable interview.

Sat, 21, Sunday, 22. A lovely morning. Went to meeting. The congregation was address by John Talor followed by [blank] in the forenoon. I stayed at home in the afternoon atook care of the children. BY spoke.

Monday 23. I watched with Sarah Ann Whitneys⁴⁹ or Kimbles babes corps[e]. Sister Frances set up with me.

Tuesday 24. At 11 o clock most all the girls went to the funeral. BY preached.

March [April] 25 Wednesday 1849. I did not feel very well to day. Making Chariton some pantiloon.

Thursday in the morning Mary Reed came after me. I went to Presends. Called at sister Whitnes. She gave me a precious morsel that came from Joseph concerning infants. I took dinner at B[ro]. Jacmans. Had a good viset with sister Higbee. P living in the house with them. It

⁴⁷ Louisa Beaman Young bore two pairs of twins, the first born in 1848, the second in 1850. All four died.

⁴⁸ Melissa Lott Willis, born 9 January 1824 in Tunkhannock, Wyoming County, Pennsylvania, was the daughter of Cornelius P. Lott. Sealed to Joseph Smith as a plural wife on 20 September 1843, she subsequently became the plural wife, first, of John Milton Bernhisel, then of Ira Jones Willis.

⁴⁹ Sarah Ann Whitney, born 22 March 1825, in Kirtland, Geauga County, Ohio, was the daughter of Newell K. Whitney and the plural wife of Joseph Smith, Jr., Joseph Corroden Kingsbury, and Heber C. Kimball, successively.

is fast day. I fasted until afternoon having took a long walk ate some.

Friday 26 [27]. Returned home in the evening with my little ones. All well. Had a long walk and enjoyed myself well.

Sat 27 [28].

Sunday 28 [29]. Went to meeting.

Monday 29 [30], Tuesday. I washed rising [rinsing?] of one hundred peeces [pieces]. I feel to thank the Lord for strenght day by day and may it continue to in crease.

Wednesday May 2. It is my Dear Mothers birth day. I never can forget. I had a comforting time at sister Rockwoods this morning. We were truly blest. I finished a lengthy letter to Oliver. Sent it by Lorenzo Young.

Thursday 3. It is fast day. I commenced a school consisting of the [Brigham Young] family. My Brother Dimick came from the Utaw Vally to see me. It seemed quite plesent to behold our kindred in the flesh. All is well at that place. In the morning I called on sister Young & blest her in the gifts. We ware interrupted in giving the interpretation. I went down at noon. Sister Kimble, sister Young and myself went into her wagon. I gave the interpretation of the blessing. It was truly comforting. In a few hours after she and her husband started for the states on business and for his health. May they be blest and prospered.

Friday 4. Taught school.

Sat. Closed school early. Ironed & done up some fine clothes for Joseph Tyranto [Toronto?]. Was very tired. I welcomed my bed as a sweet comforter.

Sunday 5 [6]. Went to Meeting. Elder [Henry Galle] Sherwood spake first. Was followed by Pres B Young. It was he opened a broad field for meditation. Spoke of sending out the elders there keeping themselves pure, of our endewments &c. Spoke of variety the beauty there of of adorning our gardens and angels viseting us. O that I could retane the things spoken and profit thereby. Took suppet with Sister Halis & went to meeting in the evening to Br Bullocks.

Monday 6 [7]—Tuesday 7 [8]—Wednesday 8 [9] Thursday 9 [10]. Rote a letter to Laury Pitkin.

Friday 10 [11]. Chariton had his foot hurt quite bad. A stone fell from a pile he had ben on to play and smashed his little toe.

Sat 11th [12] 1849. I washed scrubed Coloured & Ironed. Weary weary am I this night. O Father wilt thou be merciful & mindeful of me. I humbly Pray & let not hard labour shorten my days. I truly feel thankful for all past blessings.

Sunday 12 [13]. I did not go to meeting to day. Sister [Ivies? Travis?] & I had a refreshing season from our Heavenly father by his Hloly Speret in the gifts as we ware in friendly conversation.

Monday 13 [14]. Commenced school again had but fifteen scholars. 5 small boys. I am surell buisy.

Tuesday 14 [15]. When I went down to supper Mother Sesson was

there. She and BY had a very agreeable talk. She told her dream to him concerning a tree she had been nourishing it a long time. I was not well. Louisa made me a good cup of tea. O how precious is a sisters kindness. I trust I shall ever appreciate it. A nice rain in the evening.

Wednesday 15 [16]. I have been very much afflicted with my head [head] to day.

Thursday 16 [17]. Margret Alley is very sick has over done.

Friday 17 [18]. Was thankful to close another week school.

Sat 18 [19]. I gave Louiza Beeson [Beaman?] an Emetic in the fore noon. In the after noon went to Prescotes. Stayed all night with her. Stopped a while at B. Jacobs. We went over there and took supper. After supper conversed upon coming into the Church. It is a little better than 18 years ago. Br J sang a song of Zion. Aunt Laury spoke some. I blest Hemond Murry. We had a refreshing season and felt thankful for it (and a good supper).

Sunday 19 [20]. Spent most of the day with sister Laury. It rained so that I could not get home. Stayed with her all night.

Monday 20 [21]. Returned home about 10 A. M. Commenced school. Was weary as the night approached. After school I muped the floor, filled a flower pot set the house in order, Milked and was thankful to retire to rest.

Tuesday 21 [22]. Most all the Family met to pack wool in the morning. I dress one of my hens for Margret Alley. She is very sick.

Wednesday 23. The snow fell and whitened the ground in the afternoon. It looked rather dubious. The rooms leaked considerable some very much. BY & family are very much exposed to the storm inasmuch that they went down to br Lorenzo's house.

Thursday 24. The storm has abated and the crops not injured for which all feel truly grateful. Rather a small school today.

Friday 24 [25]. Louisa has the Irraspelas [erysipelas].⁵⁰ Her face is very much swollen.

Saturday 26. It is Dimicks B Huntington's birthday. He is 32.⁵¹ I washed and scrubed. The Sun set this night upon a weary mortal traveler, a Pilgrim & A sojourner. I went down after my supper. BY was there. We

⁵⁰ According to Webster's 1828 dictionary, erysipelas is "a disease called St. Anthony's fire; a diffused inflammation with fever of two or three days, generally with coma or delirium; an eruption of a fiery acrid humor, on some part of the body, but chiefly on the face. One species of erysipelas is called shingles, or eruption in the small vesicles."

⁵¹ Although Zina is accurate on the birthdays and ages of her other family members, Dimick was, according to Church and family records, born 20 May 1808, making an error of six days on the date and nine years on the age in this entry.

had a very agreeable conversation. Spoke upon the subject of wisdom in conversing with those that would make a wise use of what knowledge they were in possession of. Also upon Adams. The first Adam being of the earth earthy. The second man Adam the Lord from hiven [heaven] &c. and that God and he [?] & Joseph in his day was willing the People to know if all would make good and profitable use of it and it not be like casting pearls before swine.⁵² BY brought Chariton home in his arms as he had gone to sleep the evening being far spent.

Sunday 27. This morning Margaret is worse. I intended to have gone to meeting but as I was waiting upon her I saw Mother Angel⁵³ passing by. She had ben to br Fulmers the knight before and as providence provides for his children so it was this time. In about 2 hours she [Margaret] was relieved of 2 months stekness—perfect form occasioned by a hurt.⁵⁴

Sunday 27. In the afternoon I gave Louisa an emetic. I had a buisy day, and it seemed quite a day of little events. M's misfortune, L's emetic, and her hen hatched, & C's cat came on the hed when she was asleep and had 2 fine kittens which I hope will prosper as the mice are very troublesome. I came home weary just before the sun set. Br. & sister Atwood ware taking supper with Sister Twist. She called me in for which I felt thankful as I enjoyed it much.

Monday 28. As usual in my school a plesent day. I have not ben very well today.

Tuesday 29. The house this morning is perfumed with roses. The girls are decked with a variety of flours [flowers]. It is truly cheering to see what the Lord has here growing spontaneous to please the eye and gladden the hart. To him doth praise belong forever.

Wednesday 30. After school Sister Tompson sent for me. Presendia was there. We had a good viset and super. After it was over we had a little meeting.

Thursday 31. Sister Rockwood sent for me to come and take tea with her as sister Achby, sisters Washburn⁵⁵ & maryann Nobles. We had a little meeting. The speret of the Lord was there and we truly had a rejoicing time.

Friday June 1st, 1849. In the afternoon Dimick arived from Utah Vally. I went down to Presendes behinde him. Had a plesent time. Mother

⁵² This entry would be one of the earliest references to Brigham Young's discussion of the Adam-God doctrine.

⁵³ Most likely Mary Ann Angell, Brigham Young's second monogamous wife. He married her in 1834, after the death of his first wife, Miriam Works.

⁵⁴ Looped markings, apparently indicating that Margaret miscarried.

⁵⁵ Abraham Washburn was married to Tamar Washburn and Flora Gleason Washburn at this time.

Gibs & daughter were there, Mother Pack and I blest Mother Gibs. In the morning D. took us to the fort to sister Abbott. She is very sick. P and I called on Phineas Richards wife.⁵⁶ She express a mothers kindness. We had not ben in but a few minets before she had the table spred with the best the house could afford. Her health was quite poor. Ever may I rember the breth of kindness. In the after noon I went to Sister Cashes. She is going to the Islands in July. Presendia came up to Sister Lenards to stay over night. Sister Lenard sent the girls some [pickles?]. Sister Achby and I walked and talked until about 11 o'clock.

Sunday 2 [3]. I went to meeting with Dimick. P. came home with me. I am not very well. Dr. K. went home with P. It is the first time she has ever ben up here.

Monday 3 [4]. This morning I pickled about 6 quarts of rose leaves.

Tuesday 4 [5]. This murning I gave Louisa an emetic before school. After school cleated the house as the rane last night come through and covered the house with clay. The sun [set] uppon a weary traveler. After milking I retired to rest. O Heavenly Father give me strength I humbly pray.

Wednesday. In school as usual.

Thursday. I fasted all day. The school was out but a short time before the meeting closed.

Friday 8. After school was out I cleaned the house as usual and after the children were safe in bed I went with Lucy W. Kimble and stayed all night with Presendia. She had company and long shall I remember the speret of the evening.

Sat. 9. Sister Pelps and Lidia came to desire Sarah to return and lade every inducement in there Power to that affect. P & I went to see Sister Larry. We had a refreshing time. Came home in the evening.

Sunday 10. I went to meeting. Had a very good meeting.

Munday 11. Pased as usual in school. The girls or I should say Louisa, Lucy, ClaryC, Susan, & Lucy R moved up thursday in part. Finished friday 15.

Friday 15. In the morning before school I washed. Chariton got hurt. BY administered to him & he was instantly restored.

Sat 16. Just as the sun had set I sat singing to my children and rocking Chariton I commenced singing in tongs and as I arose the speret said go and bless Clarry Decker or young. I done as the impression bid. After I had blest her I blest Lucy B and elizabeth and Sally (the lamanites that Charles Decker bought) was setting by. I lade my hands uppon her hed and my language changed in a moment and when I had finished she said she understood every word. I had talked

⁵⁶ Phineas Howe Richards was married to three women at this time: Wealthy Dewey, Martha Allen, and Margaret Phillips.

in her mother tongue. The speret bore testimony but there was positive proof that could not be denied. I told her that her mother and sisters ware coming, and She must be a good girl. It was to her understanding it was a great cross but the Lord crowned it with joy for which I fee[l] to praise his name.

Sunday 17. I went to meeting. Elder Cahoon and Elder [William Warner] Major in the afternoon. Heber C.K. spoke it was truly interesting and prophesied concerning our prosperity that it would come and if we did not be humble it would be a curse to us &c.

Monday 18. I taught school spun a run miked 5 cows & went to Sister Balises on an errand. Saw sister Hambliton. She red a letter from her husband at the ferry. Some emigrants arived here from the States to day going to California.

Tuesday 19. We had a picking bee. All the family ware together and took supper in the ketchen. Sister Washbern sent for Louisa Sister Twist and my self to come and wash and annoint her daughter Mary Ann. She was taken very sick Sunday. BY sent his Carrage to carry us down. The Lord blest the administration & she was better. Sister Eliza Snow came home with us. I was in Loises. BY came in and we had quite a chat——.⁵⁷

Wednesday 20. After school I commenced washing.

thursday 21. Finished in the morning.

Friday 22. Am thankful for a little rest.

Sat 23. I am not very well. While laying on the bed I felt a desire to go to Presendes. In a moment John Young came a long on horse back & he cheerfully took me down to Presendes. Sisters Tibets [Tippits?] and Best came in related a vision of her daughters. Sister Best appared to be very candid in deed. Isaac Hate and his new wife the widdow Mury⁵⁸ stayed all night. Took breakfast with Aunt Laury. Met Dimick. He walked with me to meeting with me.

Sunday 24. Enjoyed the meeting much. BY spoke in the afternoon. Many Emigrants ware at meeting and one by the name of Lovel Haress[?]. We ware born and in one county and educated at one school in our childhood.

Tuesday, June 26, 1849. As usual in school this evening BY came in.

Wednesday 27. I commensed washing after school a three weeks

⁵⁷ Although Zina never comments on her conjugal relations with Brigham Young, she gave birth to her daughter 3 April 1850, suggesting that she became pregnant during the month of June.

⁵⁸ Isaac Chauncey Haight, born 27 May 1813 in Windham, Greene County, New York, had married Mary Murray, a widow, on 16 May 1849 as his second plural wife. Eliza Ann Snyder was the first wife.

wash. Ah weary traveler. O Lord I feel to cry to Thee for strength day by day.

Thursday 28. This morning I finished my washing. Just as I finished I was taken quite unwell. I went to bed. Loniva B made me some ginger tea. It relieved me very much. I lay there all the fore noon and taught school.

Friday 29. I feel quite well. Did not keep school of an engagement for Presendia and I to meet at Br Lewes. I arrived there about one o'clock PM. There babe was taken very sick the day before. I had not been there but a few minets before I took it and 23 minets before 3 PM it expired on my hip. It was a lovely child and the only one Phillip Lewes ever had. His mother (the child's mother) has had one be fore. It died in Mo when 3 days old her first husbands.⁵⁹ I humbly Pray my heavenly father to bless and comfort them. (I stayed with Sister crosby all night). In the after noon Sister Abbot sent for Presendia and I to come and see her. Her husband is very feeble. She asked me to set near her bed. I did so and with the tenderness of a mother she put her arms around my neck and whispered a blessing to me in tongs giving me a parting blessing. Told me of my trials and prosperity and future usefulness. She then bles her daughter Abigail and gave her a blessing indeed. Told of her purty and her future usefulness and her kindness to her and that she had far more than paid her for bringing her up. It was truly affecting. I also gave her a parting blessing. She was soon to go to the world of sperets. I asked her if she would come and see me if she could. She said she would. Ah blessed thought—O Glorious hope. My heart leaps forward at the thought when we poor mortals shall be free from pain and sin and vanity. She will rest with the just.

Sat 30. I returned home about noon. Went with br Lewis and wife and sister & Br Wallis to the grave and saw the the early niped rose consigned to the silent tomb. The remainder of the day was truly solemn and sober reflection upon the the past days scene. But the solemnity of Sister abbot cannot easily be erased. Her minde seemed as calm as a summers morning perfectly composed. O let my last moments be like the just. Ah how sweet they are.

Sunday July the 1, 1849. I attended Meeting in the after noon. The sacrament was administered. Lorenzo Snow spoke in the fore part of the day. Had a comforting time. John Murdock told his experience at 4 o'clock PM had a sunday school. Just as the sun was setting I took a ride with uncle John Young and Joseph Young. Very pleasant.

Monday 2. At school as usual.

⁵⁹ Phillip Bessom Lewis had married Maria Theresa Bonney on 27 June 1837 (Us third wife, Emily Lewis, bore three children).

Tuesday 3. I met Presendia at Uncle John Young house. The two sister Camfields [Camlick?] were there. They had an excellent supper prepared green pees sauce pies &c. It was very nice indeed. He carried P home. I went home with him (?). We enjoyed it much. The moon shed forth her silver rays to delight and cheer the heart of man.

Wednesday 4. A celebrated day in the united states but not so much so to us.⁶⁰ I returned home in the morning. While on my road call on Sister Whiting and met Horace [Horace] Whiting. He asked me to call and see his wife. I did so. Br Kimble came in asked me to read a letter from Sister Lions. I read it. Her husband is dead and [she] wishes her br Perigree to return after her. After breakfast Br K got the spirit to converse. It was truly interesting. Met Charles C Rich on or in the road coming home & had a very good interview, and forget it not. In the afternoon P & I took supper with Mother Gibs. The memorable fourth.

Thursday 5. A day of fasting and Prayer for the whole Church. I did not attend meeting.

Friday 6. Thankful to see another week close its school. I know and am reconciled to my lot. It is the weariness of the body I refered to. After school the girls persuaded me to accompany them to br Kimbles to take tea. Eliza S, Louiza B, Charles C and her mother were there. Also a gentleman from Kentucky one of the emigrating company. It was interesting.

Sat 7. S. _ _ at Clarres.

Sunday 8. Went to meeting.

Monday 9. Set up with sister Atwoods babe. It is very sick. No useless moments do I see but all is work and care with me.

Tuesday 10. Dimick is here from Utah Vally has a letter from William one from Olivers wife in NY, one from cosen Mary Kimble NY, and one from Joseph Smith⁶¹ to Oliver.

Wednesday 11. The emigrants are still passing in great numbers.

⁶⁰ After the pioneers' experiences with mob violence in Missouri and Nauvoo and the lack of redress from the federal government, they affirmed allegiance to the Constitution but not to the flag or to the current government. Instead, the 24th of July became their "independence" holiday. See John F. Yurtious, "Here is One Man Who Will Not Go, Dam'ned": Recruiting the Mormon Battalion in Iowa Territory," *BYU Studies* 21 (Fall 1981): 475-87; Kate B. Carter, ed. "Celebrating the 24th of July [1849]," *Heart Thrills* 7:90-91.

⁶¹ This may be Joseph Smith III, Joseph Smith's son, who would accept the presidency of the Reorganized Church of Jesus Christ of Latter Day Saints in 1856. See his Autobiography, 1832-1910, Manuscripts and archives, Lee Library, Brigham Young University, Provo, Utah, film 298 reel 30) for his contacts with the Utah Saints. The entry of Wednesday, 25 July, suggests that this letter may have also been to Zina.

Thursday 12. Continued my school until monday, it lacked 7 days of 3 months.

Monday 16. I gave Louiz B an emetic.

Wednesday 18. *[written out of order, but no entry]*

Tuesday 17. Sewed on the flag. It is 60 feet long. Eliza R S[now] superintends it in Sister Cobs room.

Friday 19 [20]. Washed. Saturday 1 ironed.

Sunday. Went to meeting. A very interesting meeting. BY spoke. Many emigrants there. Monday evening a number of cannon were fired.

Tuesday the 24 came on in splendor. I cannot repeat the proceedings of the day here to my satisfaction. It was grand and sublime.

Wednesday 25. All rather stupid and weary. Fanny and Mother Sessions took dinner with me. I wrote a letter to Joseph Smith [JN] and Oliver in the fore noon.

Thursday 26.

Friday 27. Fanny sent for me. I went down to Presendes. Cristeen Golden was there. Had an agreeable time.

Sat 28. A party at John Higbees. BY took his first wife⁶² Eliza R and Zina D. Heber C took his first Cristeen, Presendia & Laury. (Some chose [choice] jokes passed, Eliza BY & HCK in regard to speret. We had a beautiful supper, good musick &c. All things passed agreeable.

Sunday 29.

Monday 30. I spun 47 [k]nots. Was very tired.

Tuesday 31. Commenced school. Emiline sent for Lucy & I. We went immediately down and before any one could get there the child was born. Lucy was holding her & I of course took the child. In a short time help arrived but all things had ben well done thus far. BY, Square Wells and sister Billings took supper here. Had quite an agreeable time after all.

[blank]

Sunday [August] 12. Dimick informed me that he had asked BY if he was willing for me to go down home with him. He was. Had a sunday school at 9 oclock A.M.

Monday 13. About 9 started with Allen in a comfortable wagon with my 2 little sons distance 50 miles. Was detained at the old fort until about noon. Called in to Jessy Terpens a short time. He had to rehearse a little of his feelings in his youthful career &c. He had ben run over a few days before by a wagon and was confined to his bed but was on the gain. When we left the fort we traveled for miles through a field of grain. I was

⁶² It is not clear what Zina means by "first wife," but it apparently did not refer to seniority by age or marriage date. Here and elsewhere she notes that Church leaders would sometimes attend social or other events with only one (or more, but not all) of their plural wives.

much surprised to see what a world of it. In the after noon Allen bought 2 water mellons. They were a treat. Camped on dry creek 15 miles from home. I had set up but little of the way and had the teeth ache. Had a comfortable nights rest. In the morning my face was very much swelled. Got for Allen a soldiers breakfast bread and meat. I soaked a cracker for mine in cold water.

Tuesday 14. Arrved just dark at Dimicks. I was very tired and weary. A Br Blackburn camped with us. When hunting in the morning he found some hause or thorn apples on dry creek. They were a treat.

Wednesday 15 & Thursday 16 was very pleasant spent in the Family.

Friday 17. Ajust at knight Br Felps, [Joseph?] Horn & Willis arrived. We had a nice supper prepared.

Sat 18. About 10 oclock they left and Dimick also on an exploring expedition among the mountains with Captain Walker.

Sunday 19. I went to meeting and after meeting I engaged a school for 4 weeks.

Monday 20. Fanny & I visited at sister Higbees.

Thursday 23. I opened a school.

[two blank leaves]

the 10th. of September. Left the Utah Vally with Pres Young & Susan Snively. There was 6 or 7 carages in company. A lovely day. Stopped at Br [Bills?] and took supper. It was very nice in deed. All things were prepared in stile and ready to be seated at the table. I stopped in to Amacy Lymans over night. BY held a meeting at Br Grosbes.

Wednesday 19. After a pleasant days ride arrived a home about 3 in the afternoon. All well.

Thursday 20. Orson Spencers company arrived.⁶³

Friday 21. Br & Sister Young, Eliza R & Louisa B, Ellen Rockwood took supper at Emilines. Had a very pleasant time.

Sat 22. Prepared for sunday.

Sunday. With my children went to meeting. Pres BY spoke. Parley & Heber. Many emigrants there and very interesting.

Monday. Pleasant. Tuesday 25 also.

Wednesday 26. Sister Twist had company. A large party very pleasant. BY spent the evening with us.

27. Rained last night. Time is swiftly on the wing.

Oct. 11, 1849. This week I tried to assist in the kitchen but was not able to go through with it as I wished.

Sat 6. I did not attend conference on account of [the work].

Sunday 7. Went to meeting. Enjoyed it much. [?] how many scene

⁶³ Again Esshom contradicts Zins and records that the Orson Spencer company arrived 23 September, not 20 September.

transpired this month that are common to the vicissitudes of this life. Some very pleasant and others perplexing that I will pass by. I have had some comforting times with dear friends &c. For three days after conference was over I rote for Joseph Grant who was going to [States] in company with Lorenzo Snow. Some letters for my self to my friends & one for James Works. [blank] and attended the feast at Br Talors. The 12 and there families ware there. A beautiful dinner and daining in the evening some preaching &c. A delightful time. All that ware going on missions ware there.⁶⁴

I will now pass on to the 27 of November⁶⁵ when my Brother Wm did arive in health and safety with his family which caused our hearts to rejoice with exceeding great joy before the Lord for his merces and kindness to our Dear Fathers Family. Dimick and Allen had ben out to meet him and assist him in. [blank] One was John Chases. Wm bought Captain Higgens place 2 houses and lots. Gave 2 yoke of oxen and a cow a living spring on one lot. I went home with them and stayed all night. In the evening Presendia came up. We enjoyed ourselves well. Saw Fathers likeness and a little. O be joyful &c.

I will now speak of Dec. The first of the month there was some cold storms. My room was very open and uncomfortable. I resorted to sister Ilalises through one storm and an other spent a[n] Wms & Presendes and Br Jackmans. A violent snow storm that made wood very scarce on account of getting into the [?].

Wednesday [Dec] 12th. 1849. I came up with Presendia. She moved up into a room joining Br Kimbles a good stove and thingst comfortable. Surely will she know how to prize them for she has not ben a stranger to cold and fatigue and exposure. Her health is not very good. I assisted her what I could in moving. Wm came in the evening before she left and gave us a history of his journey to this place. It was very interesting indeed. Arived at my cold room just dusk all right.

Mondy 17 of Dec. Long to be remembered day. I commenced to cook by my self on a little box stove. Washed and retired to rest a weary traveler.

Tuesday and wednesday. I [sewed] for Square Wells paying for my boys some handsome pantaloon. 2 dollars all right. Br Young payed for there shoes nice calve skin.

Thursday. Made the bed curtains that Oliver sent me from York state curtains &c.

⁶⁴ During this conference, calls were issued elders assigned to France, Denmark, Italy, Great Britain, Lower California, the Society Islands, and Sweden. At this time the Saints also began the Perpetual Emigration Fund. Eschom, *Prominent Men of Utah*, 1312.

⁶⁵ These next two entries summarize almost two months of activities.

Friday. Harriet's⁶⁶ things were moved a way and the roof repaired.

Sat. I have finished Zebulons coat and ironed and made him a pair of pantaloons.

Sunday 23. In a hurry Br Newman put up my shelves and [toasters?]. I white washed. A harsh Days labour for me.

Monday. BY Put a nice cooking stove into my room. He payed 50 dollars for it. I arranged the room and &c, &c.

Tuesday 25 [Christmas]. The band sat in my room. At 3 PM was seated at the table. 2 tables ware set and filled evry thing and in order. I sat between Emily & Hellen Whitney. Presendia & Br Kimble ware here in the evening. A very pleasant time. About one at night all dispersed.

Wednesday. I am cooking by my self with my 2 little sons. Time passes very agreeable.

Sunday 30. Attended meeting in the kitchen. A comforting time.

Monday 31. I washed. In the after noon Caroline⁶⁷ came to see me. Wm came after her but [she] stayed all night. BY came in in the evening. All things seemed pleasant.

Tuesday January the 1st 1850. C & I did not rise very early. Allen came after her. BY took breakfast in the kitchen and all in these building but sister Cob & I. A pleasant morning. A party at BYs house. The 12 and there first wife and some of the aged vetrons about 30. For my self I fasted and wept tears of bitterness. Poor health. Thought uppon the past realizing the present and wondering uppon the future yet trusting in God.⁶⁸

Jan 2. This day Zebulon is 8 years old at 12 oclock. I made him a cake and a present of a pair of (?) shoes. Even so may his feet ever be shod with all (?) and shun all Evil until he and his ancestors and posterity arive in the Celestial Kingdom of our God is the prayer of his Mother. O Father will thou direct and keep him in the way that he should go both now and forever and give me wisdom I humbly pray the [Thee] O God in all things. In the after noon the family took supper at Pres Youngs. Very pleasant and evry thing nice. Rained some.

Sunday the 6. Another meeting. The bishops & high priests met in the evening. The children ware blest & BY gave the females there due. O there weakness Lord have mercy mercy. O mercy is all that I can say do I pray.

Monday 7. Commensed my carpet. I feel better in my minde than I have for some days.

⁶⁶ Possibly Harriett Cook, another plural wife of Brigham Young.

⁶⁷ Caroline Clark Huntington, born 15 September 1819 in Ogdensburg, St. Lawrence County, New York, was the wife of Zina's brother, William.

⁶⁸ At this point, Zina was six months pregnant, but she seems to have been most grieved by being excluded from the Young family's party.

Wednesday 9th. I was at Presendes. Her little daughter is one year old is running all a bout the building. Children of the family all ware there and partook of some cakes celebrating her birth day. A pleasing sight.

Thursday 10. Mother Presendia & Sister Cob viseted with me. I had a nice supper. M. & P. stoped over night. Very agreeable viset. Fathers likeness was here. Wm brought it up at Cristmas.⁶⁹ A welcome picture in our circle.

Friday 11. P & I called on sister Balis. They are going to take Oliver [a letter?] while Sister Young let me have it [cotten batterd?].

SAt 12. I carded one pound and a half and almost tied a comfortable [comforter?] besides milking and doing my work. A weary travelor am I this night but thank the Lord for the streangth I have day by day.

Sunday 13. I went to meeting in the ketchen. There ware a number of children blest. Chariton with the rest. A very good meeting. In the evening Br John Young invited me to go with him to my sisters. His 2 wives acompand us. Sister Sprague, Sister Kimble also spent the evening and sister Williams. A good supper and a little german singing. A quite agreeable evening was spent. Eliza Gibson stayed all night with me.

Monday 14. Joining together [blank]

Thursday January 24 1850. A very blustering day. Never did I see the winds higher or the snow fly so tremendous. A boisterous prince must have ruled the elements this day. A very large company gethered. All the familys of the brethren gone to foreign nations and the twelve. Musick and dansing all night. Dinner and supper at the presidents house. 16 eat in the Lucas room. Amacy Limans family stoped all night with me. A noble looking company indeed to see them dansing. The room filled with the noblest of Adams race. George A. Smith danced. All seemed to enjoy themselves extremely well. While the elements raged without Peace was enjoyed with in.

Friday 25. A pleasent day no strife. All was peace & quietude.

January 31. I am 29 years old. Spent the day at Presendes.

February 1t, 1850. Many interesting interviews seneres [scenes?] passed. I viseted some of my friends &c &c. The 11th is my youngest brother John D. Huntington birth day. The 28 is Wm D H birth day 32 years old. Attended a party at Joseph Hoves [Joseph Grafton Hovey]. Very intersting and agreeable. Heber C. K and family Pres BY and 3 of his wives, and elegant supper was prepared. All things in order and a free flow of the spiret of the Living God. Musick dansing rejoicing prayer preaching & I sung a song of Zion & Br Huvy [Hovey] dansed the time. Wm H. and Wm Hide [~~crossed out: "March 1, 1850"~~]⁷⁰ went to Presendes

⁶⁹ Probably a portrait or daguerrotype made before Father Huntington died in Iowa.

⁷⁰ As this crossed-out date shows, Zina wrote the entry for 27 February after

& there we had the interpretation.

the 27 of February. Sister Louisa Beaman viseted me. It was her birth day. She was 3__ . Sister Snow Gray Presendia & Caroline Clary Chase sister S buried her eldest son yesterday 7 or 8 years old. It was agreeable yet lonely. It was the last time Louisa was ever out of her room.

March the 1t, 1850. Cool for the season. BY took dinner with m[e].

March moves slowly along. My health quite poor & the 13th Charlton was taken with the measles.

Monday 19 [18]. Sister Gray and sister hannah Conklen white washed my room. I rode over to Presendes and spent the day. Returned. C was coming out nicely. For better than 2 weeks I had him to lift as an infant child. Part of the time sister Gray was with me but most of the time a lone. No one will know the hours of painful loneliness that I saw by day & by night. But the Lord gave me strength beyon any thing I could have expected for which may I ever praise his high and holy name.

March 28. My reverend Fathers birth day. And the 29, 3 oclock Caroline Wm wife gave birth to a fine daughter. Call it Lucia Presendia. [*facing leaf has "April" written at the top and nothing else*]⁷¹

Sunday June 8th [9] 1850. I attended meeting thankful [?] to for the privillage & O God wilt thou give me [Grace make?] a wise improvement of all blessings knowing unto thee must I give an account for the same I do humbly ask it in the name [blank]. Spent an agreeable week untill the last of the week. I spent an after noon at Presendes with mother & Emily D [B or R?].

Sunday 15 [16]. A baptist minister spoke and very well to. Farley P replied to him. Pres B.Y. and George A. Smith. It was most excellant. The most spired meeting I have been to of late.

the 25 of June. Sister Eliza R Snow and I viseted sister Whitney.

27 of June. Long Long to be rembered day Joseph & Hiram's Decease. I had all of Joseph's family together that could meet in the vally. Alvin Holmes⁷² is up north. 11 in number. Praise the Lord that so many are continuing in well doing and striving to hold out faithful to the end. Pres B Young, Heber C Kimble & Mrs W took supper with us.

Sat evening June 29. The most of the family ware baptized by Eliza T Benson and confirmed by Pres B Young & H.C Kimble.

Sunday 30. Attended meeting all day. Pres B. Y spoke & gave his testimony of this. It was beautiful and comforting to all. [Many?] Em-

Louisa Beaman's confinement to her room. It is her last mention of Louisa, one of Zina's closest sister wives, who died 15 May 1850.

⁷¹ Zina's daughter by Brigham Young, Zina Presendia Young, was born 3 April 1850, but she does not mention the baby until her entry of 7 August 1850.

⁷² Elvira Annis Cowles, born 23 November 1813 in Oswego, New York, was sealed to Joseph Smith; after his death, she married Jonathan Harriman Holmes.

grants present. He also tuched them upon money digging or the following in Jos Smiths wake). P took supper with me.

Monday July 11, 1850. I washed baked & churned. Am very tired.

Sat 6. At Six this morning Cornelius P Lor died worn out with fatigue and has gone home to rest with the sanctified. Presendia, Anny Geen⁷³ & I made his robe of fine linen this evening or ware until 11 o'clock. It was given him by Ira Willis his son in law.

Sunday 7th 1850. I attended the funtial. Pre B Young preached his funeral sermon. It was truly a feast to the sole. He spoke as thoug[h] it was no sorrow to part with our friends who wore faithful.

Thursday. 12 oclock James babe was born very sick. The Lord was merciful indeed. His power truly.⁷⁴ The week has pased pleasantly of in to the eternity of past time.

Sunday 14. An interesting meeting.

Monday 15. Lucy B fitted my dress.

Tuesday 16. I went to Wm with Uncle John Young. Carolines babe Lucia Presendia was very sick in the night. Came near dying with the croup. It seemed the Lord truly sent me.

Wednesday 17. Dimick and wife and children took a ride and brought me home. Found all well.

Friday 19. Done a very large wash. Surely the Lord was merciful & strengthened me.

Sat 20. Baked & Ironed. Sister Geen direct from Canesville called on me with amy K her daughter.

Sunday 21. The congregation very large and addressed by Pres B Young. His words they wore like aples of gold and pictures of silver⁷⁵ cherhing the hart and strengthening the sole to continue by words of prophecy concerning the Jews and all Isreal. There literal fulfillment of the words of the prophets. O the beauty & glory of our God. Br Cook and Eliza Gibson took dinner with me. Sister Conklin took supper with me.

Monday morning cool and pleasant. Made Zebulun a vest out of a silk apron my brother sent me). Very tired. Took supper at Presendes. Br K & 2 Emegrants also Sister Geen.

Tuesday 23. Took supper at Presendes. Sister Geen had just arived from Kanesville. Br Kimble & 2 emegrants took supper also.

Wednesday 24. Aroused by the firing of canon. A grand scenery. I attended at the bowry all day. Dined with Sister Geen and a number of her friends. Took tea in the ketchen with the Pres and family at [6?] PM.

⁷³ Alice Ann Gheen, born 20 December 1828 in Uwelfland, Chester County, Pennsylvania, was a plural wife of Heber C. Kimball.

⁷⁴ The following sentence appears to have been written in later.

⁷⁵ An allusion to Proverbs 25:11.

Sunday 28th. Presendia Cristine Golden & my Self viseted at Br Levi Jackmans. It was his birth day. A very pleasent time. The spiret of the Lord was with us. Als[o] his son Permno [Parmenio A. Jackman] a splended young man. Took tea at Carolines and Dimick took his carriage and brought us home.

Sat [out of order]. Pres B.Y. gave me 9 yds of linen gingham & 3 yds of [buss?].

Tuesday 30. Presendia splint most of the day with me. Her health is quite poor. I sewed some for Lucy A[nn] D[ecker] Young today.

Wednesday 31st. Pres B Young & Lucy, Heber C Kimble & MaryEllen, Bishop Whitney and a number of others Dimick B Huntington started for the Sanpich [Sanpete] vally on a viset. Distance 130 miles. Left at 1 o clock P.M. Presendia went to [cotten?] wood with H.C.K. I assisted her until she left.

Thursday August 1st 1850. Done a very large wash. O the weariness of this mortal body.

Sat 3. Sister Harrison Burgess⁷⁶ 2 of them wore here. Margret Rich and Sister Eliza R Snow was with me. Spent a very agreeable afternoon.

Sunday. With pleasure did I spend the day instructing my Dear little boys & reading & singing with them. Sister Abigail called and brought me a few beats. Sister Clarry Derkes took tea with me.

Tuesday 6. Sister Twist & Eliza R Snow took tea with me.

Wednesday 7th. Martha B & I went in the morning to sister Benjamin Browns [Sarah Mumford Brown]. Took dinner with her and then went to her sons Lorenzo Browns. With pleasure did they receive us there. How beautiful was there flowers and pleasent and lovely ware there spirets. A fine shower. I brought my babe for me quite a kindness.

Thursday 8. High winds. Br Kimble girls ware viseting in the ketchen. Ellen Rockwood was taken quite sick in the evening. She had a vision and saw Joseph praise the Lord for evry manifestation of his Goodness.

Friday 9. Sat 10. Clary Chase & I with the 2 sister Wolles tok supper with sister Cob at 5. I went to the worm spring⁷⁷ with sister Youne. A treat.

Sunday 11. I went to meeting with my chüdren all well. An emigrant spoke in the fore part of the day and very well. P. P. Prat replied in the afternoon excelent. The saviour or the kingdom of God was [?].

Monday 12. Presendia & I went to the fort to Father Session funeral. Went to the grave with Br Lenard. Joy to the Saints that depart.

⁷⁶ Harrison Burgess was married to Amanda Hammon and Sophia Minerva Foster at this time.

⁷⁷ Thermal springs in Salt Lake City at about 700 North on 300 West.

APPENDIX 1

TITLE LEAF/FRONT COVER LEAF

[Note: The arrangement of letters and words, reproduced below, is baffling to me, nor does anything in the diary explain it.]

A
y C

Constantan

P. P.
Jacob
C. C.

Milto[n? w?] Hon

G.T.Hutchinson
Milford N.H.

Peterborough
New Hampshire

APPENDIX 2

INSIDE FRONT COVER LEAF

June 13th 1850. Similitudes from the vegetable Kingdom

The fragrant white clover thrives though trampled under foot it furnishes the bees with stores of pure honey without asking or receiving the credit of it.

Meekness and Disinterestedness

The vine clinging to the elm acknowledges its weakness and at the same time makes it self strong-faits [East].

The morning glory makes a fair show at sun rise but withers as soon as it becomes hot.

Excitement with out principle

If the Grasshopper eat the corn silk their will be no harvest.

Irreligious principles in child hood

If you go into a field of heggar ticks in autumn when you come home your clothes will reveal the fact.

Vulgar Company

You see how such of the trees as bow their branches to the winter

torrents escape unhurt, but such as resist perish root and branch—
Sophomores.

Yielding to the opinions of Others

The blossom of the barbary blasts all the Grain in its vicinity,
Bad Examples

Thistle seeds have wings,
Bad principles

Cranberries hide themselves beneath the moss. He who would have
them must hunt for them.
Modest worth

The thistle has a beautiful blossom but is so [covered?] with spines
that every body abhors it.
Beauty and bad temper

APPENDIX 3

FIRST LEAF OF DIARY

Rules of behavior for Youth

Written by Joseph Smith

Copied by Zina D. Y. S. [from] Oliver B Huntingtons
sheet Jan 1849

My Brother [wife?] was born Oct 14th 18[blank]

Every action in company ought to be with an air of respect to those
present.

In the company of others sing not with a humming voice to your
self, or drum not with your finger or feet.

Listen when others Speak.

Sit not when others stand.

Speak not when you should hold your peace.

Many questions remarks sarcasms may be better answered by
silence than by words By silent contemplation[?].

Turn not your back to others—especially when speaking.

Jog not the Table or desk on which others read or write.

Lean not on any one.

Be no flatterer, neither play with any one who delights not to be
played with.

Read no letters or books in company—but when there is a necessity
for doing it, ask leave.

Come not near the books or writing of any one so as to read them, unless requested (or desired) nor give your opinion of them unasked.

Also look not nigh when he or she are writing a letter.

Show not your selves glad at the misfortune of others, though it be your enemy.

Let your discourse men of buisness be short and comprehensive with men of Station, respetful and by no means inquisitive (be not knowing).

In viseting the sick play not the physician if you be not knowing therein.

When a man does all he can though it seemed not well blame not him that did it.

Being about to reprove any one, consider whether it ought to be done at present or at another time or in publick or in private; and in improving show no signes of choler but do it in meekness and sweetness.

Take all admonitions kindly but when not culpable take a time and place convenient to let him know it that gave.

Mock not or jest at any thing of Importance.

Break no jests sharp or biting—and if you deliver any thing witty and Pleasant, abstain from laughing thereat your self.

Wherein you reprove another be unblameable your self, for example has more influence than precept.

Use no reproachful language against any one neither curse nor revile.

Be not hasty to bell[c]ving flying reports to the disparagement of any one.

Asociate with men of good charactor and rem[em]ber it is better to be alone than in bad company.

In all causes of passion admit reason to govern.

Speak not of doleful things in times of mirth or at the table.

Be not immoderate in urging your friends to discover a secrets.

Tell[] not your dreams but to your intimate friends.

Laugh not a loud; nor at all without occasion.

Speak not injurious or repro[a]chful words, in jest, nor in earnest.

Be not forward, but always to all persons friendly & courteous & gentle.

Be not abstinat [obstinate] in your opinion.

Never discover a secret.

What you wish to say to your friends in secret deliver it not in the presence of others.

Whisper not in the presence of others.

Promise not improperly nor bring out your words too hastily but ordly [orderly] and distinctly.

Be not anclous to know the affairs of others, neither approach those who speak in private.

Undertake not what you cannot perform.

Speak not against the absent for it is unjust.

Never be guilty of detraction, be not angry at table, and if you have reason so to be show it not; especially if there be strangers for good humour makes one dish a feast.

Lean not on the table nor finde fault with what you eat.

Let your recreations be manful—not sinful.

Never attempt any thing but what you can do openly free from and of consequences.

Never be guilty of any thing little or mean; but let all your actions be noble and honorable.

Zina D Young

Vally of the great salt lake, Nov 1848

APPENDIX 4

WIVES OF BRIGHAM YOUNG BEFORE 1850

<i>Name</i>	<i>Birth</i>	<i>Marriage</i>	<i>Death</i>
Miriam WORKS	7 Jun 1806	8 Oct 1824 *	8 Sep 1832
Mary Ann ANGELL	8 Jun 1808	10 Feb 1834 *	27 Jun 1882
Lucy Ann DECKER	17 May 1822	14 Jun 1842 *	24 Jan 1890
Harriett E. COOK	7 Nov 1824	2 Nov 1843 *	5 Nov 1898
Augusta ADAMS Cobb	1802	2 Nov 1843	1886
Clarissa C. DECKER	1828	8 May 1844 *	1889
Emily Dow PARTRIDGE	28 Feb 1824	Sep 1844 *	9 Dec 1899
Clarissa CHASE Ross	16 Jun 1814	10 Sep 1844 *	1857
Louisa BEAMAN	7 Feb 1815	19 Sep 1844 *	15 May 1850
Eliza Roxey SNOW	21 Jan 1804	3 Oct 1844	5 Dec 1887
Elizabeth FAIRCHILD	6 Mar 1828	3 Oct 1844	10 Jun 1910
Clarissa BLAKE	1796	8 Oct 1844	?
Rebecca HOLMAN	20 Feb 1824	9 Oct 1844	1849
Diana S. CHASE	23 Jul 1827	10 Oct 1844	6 Sep 1886
Susan SNIVELY	30 Oct 1815	2 Nov 1844	20 Nov 1892
Olive GRAY Frost	24 Jul 1816	7 Nov 1844	6 Oct 1845
Mary Ann CLARK	1816	15 Jan 1845	?
Margaret PIERCE	19 Apr 1823	16 Jan 1845 *	16 Jan 1907
Mary Harvey PIERCE	29 Nov 1821	16 Jan 1845	16 Mar 1847
Emmeline FREE	28 Apr 1826	30 Apr 1845 *	17 Jul 1875
Mary E. ROLLINS	9 Apr 1818	22 May 1845	17 Dec 1913
Margaret M. ALLEY	1825	14 Jan 1846 *	1852
Olive ANDREWS	1818	15 Jan 1846	?
Emily H. WHITMARSH	22 Jul 1823	15 Jan 1846	?
Ellen A. ROCKWOOD	23 Mar 1829	21 Jan 1846	6 Jan 1866
Martha BOWKER	24 Jan 1822	21 Jan 1846	26 Sep 1890

Name	Birth	Marriage	Death
Jemima ANGEL Young	1803	28 Jan 1846	1869
Abigail M. WORKS	1781	28 Jan 1846	1846
Phebe MORTON Angel	28 Mar 1776	28 Jan 1846	1854
Cynthia PORTER	783	28 Jan 1846	?
Mary E. NELSON	1812	31 Jan 1846	1885
Rhoda RICHARDS	8 Aug 1784	31 Jan 1846	1879
Zina D. HUNTINGTON	31 Jan 1821	2 Feb 1846 *	29 Aug 1901
Amy Cecilia COOPER	1804	3 Feb 1846	?
Mary Ellen WOODWARD	7 May 1803	3 Feb 1846	?
Julia FOSTER	18 Nov 1811	3 Feb 1846	17 Jul 1891
Abigail HARHACK	1790	3 Feb 1846	1849
Nancy Ann TURLEY	13 Jul 1827	3 Feb 1846	24 Dec 1904
Nancy CRESSY Walker	1780	6 Feb 1846	1872
Naatnah CARTER Twiss	20 Mar 1821	6 Feb 1846	26 Sep 1868
Jane TERRY Young	21 Mar 1819	10 Feb 1847	14 Feb 1847
Lucy BIGELOW	1830	20 Mar 1847 *	1905
Mary Jane BIGELOW	15 Nov 1827	20 Mar 1847	1868
Sarah MALIN	10 Jan 1804	18 Apr 1848	20 Mar 1858

*bore Brigham Young a child or children

Source: Jeffery Ogden Johnson, "Determining and Defining 'Wife': The Brigham Young Households," *Dialogue: A Journal of Mormon Thought* 20 (Fall 1987): 57-70.

William Clayton: In the Shadow of Power

George D. Smith

I FIRST MET WILLIAM CLAYTON like most Latter-day Saints. I suppose, as the composer of the hymn, "Come, Come, Ye Saints." In the 1940s at the age of four or five, I was attending Westchester Branch meetings of the LDS Church at the Masonic Lodge in Mount Vernon, New York, where I first recall singing it and hearing the romantic story that Brigham Young had asked Clayton to write something to cheer up the dispirited pioneers. At the time I thought of Clayton simply as a successful hymn-writer for sacrament meetings. This remained my image of Clayton for the next four decades. It was much later when I learned that Clayton's resounding lyrics, originally titled "All Is Well," were written to celebrate the birth of a son to Diantha Farr, his seventeen-year-old fifth wife, in Nauvoo, Illinois, while he was on the Overland Trail to the Great Salt Lake Valley.

My next encounter with Clayton came in 1981 when I was living in San Francisco and, with Scott Kenney, had just co-founded Signature Books, a company designed to publish historical and literary works of Western Americana, including volumes of the just-cancelled sesquicentennial history of the Latter-day Saints. Many of the popularized stories of Mormon origins then told abroad in the LDS community contradicted history and

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were patently unconvincing, as my own children had occasionally pointed out to me; I understood B. H. Roberts's characterization of Book of Mormon difficulties—that they profoundly “concern the faith of the youth of the Church now as also in the future.”¹ As contemporary source documents, the Clayton journals present clear and accurate images of early nineteenth-century Mormon culture. I read with interest extracts from journals Clayton wrote between 1842 and 1846, while living in Nauvoo, as they emerged within the document-starved LDS community like rare samizdat.

That was the beginning of a focused interest in the voice of William Clayton, an interest that intensified over the next decade as more diaries and personal writings became available. Furthermore, my excursion into genealogy revealed a family connection through a marriage to a Clayton granddaughter. In 1985 I began serious work on preparing a critical edition of William Clayton's diaries from 1840 to 1853 that culminated in the 1991 publication of *An Intimate Chronicle*. It includes Clayton's six extant journals: England and Emigration, 1840-42; Nauvoo, Illinois, 1842-46; Nauvoo Temple, 1845-46; Pioneer Trek West, 1846-47; Visit to Utah Settlements, 1852; and Polygamy Mission in England, 1852-53. Clayton's journals have been widely extracted and published in various forms, including, of course, the *History of the Church*, but they had never been consolidated in one place. Brought together, Clayton's writings convey an insightful contemporary picture of early Mormon life.

In many ways, the Nauvoo diaries are still the most revealing, problematic, and intriguing of all the Clayton writings. Still kept under lock and key by Church leadership, undoubtedly for good reason,² these Nauvoo journals introduce a William Clayton speaking in his own voice from a position he occupied in the shadows of Mormon hierarchical power. And in Nauvoo that meant an

¹ B. H. Roberts to Heber J. Grant, December 29, 1921, quoted in Brigham D. Madsen, ed., *B. H. Roberts: Studies of the Book of Mormon* (Salt Lake City: Signature Books, 1992), 46-47.

² Even the published version is currently closed to researchers at the LDS Historical Department library.

intimate view of plural marriage in its beginnings.

I was fascinated by the clear and unaffected picture of Joseph Smith facilitated by Clayton's guileless, even ingenuous, daily entries. Rather than evaluate or interpret what he saw, heard, and participated in, he recorded his daily associations, personal and professional activities, and conversations with a sincerity and literalness that are both disarming and appealing for someone schooled in late twentieth-century critical thinking. Clayton made no attempt to conceal his innocent pride in his unique role as the Prophet Joseph Smith's loyal and competent "private clerk" and confidante, privy to the conditions of his numerous marital relationships. No stronger evidence exists of Clayton's artless loyalty than the fact that, not only is he not surprised by these unconventional arrangements, but he does not even offer an explanation for his unquestioning acceptance; Joseph Smith was the standard for his moral attitudes and behavior. If Joseph did it, then it was above question.

By the time I first saw the Nauvoo journals, among the works on polygamy I had read were Mormon historian Andrew Jensen's "Plural Marriage," an 1887 article in the *Historical Record* which identified twenty-seven of Joseph Smith's plural wives, Fawn Brodie's collection of diaries and letters of forty-eight women which described their marital relationships to the Prophet (Appendix C to the 1971 edition of *No Man Knows My History*), Daniel Bachman's thesis, "A Study of the Mormon Practice of Plural Marriage before the Death of Joseph Smith" (Purdue University, 1975), the numerous source documents on Mormon polygamy excerpted in Jerald and Sandra Tanner's *Mormonism: Shadow or Reality* (1972), and Larry Foster's, *Religion and Sexuality: Three American Communal Experiments of the Nineteenth Century* (1981), which placed Nauvoo polygamy in an American context. Although I was familiar with Mormon polygamy, I was fascinated by Clayton's portrayal of individuals coming to terms with plural marriage as a personal reality in their lives.

Clayton's first mention of Joseph Smith's polygamy was a terse notice on 1 May 1843 that he himself had "m[arried] J[oseph] to L[ucy] W[alker]," a sixteen-year-old nanny and housekeeper in the Smith home, while Emma, Joseph's first wife, was buying household supplies in St. Louis. Loyally, Clayton allowed another

of Joseph's plural wives, Desdemona Fullmer, to room and board at his own home, thus helping to maintain the confidentiality of that marriage. "President Joseph and I went to B[enjamin] F. Johnson's to sleep," he recorded on 16 May 1843, from Macedonia, Illinois. Joseph had been sealed that spring to thirty-year-old Almera Johnson.

From Joseph's perspective, Clayton's unquestioning loyalty was an unqualified good. From Emma's it led Clayton to lapses of integrity and estranged them. Suspicious of Clayton's role in facilitating Joseph's supernumerary marital relationships, Emma accused Clayton on 21 August 1843 of carrying letters to her husband from Eliza R. Snow, another secret wife. Ironically, Clayton's proximity to Joseph and Emma's marital stresses also apparently jeopardized his relationship with Joseph himself. Joseph warned Clayton that Emma might make romantic advances toward Clayton to retaliate for Joseph's polygamy. Perhaps my view of Emma is incomplete, but the idea of her having a "revenge affair" at all is hard to imagine—and the Prophet's obedient secretary seems a most improbable partner. Even more ironically, Clayton actually took Joseph's warning at face value and broods in his diary about how "serious" a sin it would be to accept Emma's advances.³ Clayton's exaggerated loyalty to Smith's leadership and his absolute followership seemed to compromise his own critical judgment.

Even more than in these exchanges with Joseph and Emma Smith, Clayton's personality emerged when he began to record his feelings about his own romantic interests. Near the beginning of his Nauvoo journals he enthusiastically and tellingly wrote of the "favor" of plural marriage which the Prophet authorized, "which I have long desired."⁴ "Favor," of course, is a nineteenth-century convention; a letter-writer would request the "favor of a reply"; political appointees were "in favor" or out; a love-token was a favor. But Clayton's writings use the term "favor" in the sense of a personal boon, bestowed by a superior as a reward. As

³ George D. Smith, ed., *An Intimate Chronicle: The Journals of William Clayton* (Salt Lake City: Signature Books, 1991), 108.

⁴ *Ibid.*, 94.

I look at this religiously sanctioned privilege from a twentieth-century perspective, I find it ironic that the "favor" in question is actually a woman.

In an affidavit attested later in his life, Clayton related how Joseph Smith conferred this "favor" upon him. One day in the winter of 1843, the Prophet came to visit the Clayton home. William and Ruth had been married six years and had three children. As Clayton tells the story, "The prophet invited me to walk with him. During our walk, he said he had learned that there was a sister back in England, to whom I was very much attached. I replied there was, but nothing further than an attachment such as a brother and sister in the Church might rightfully entertain for each other. He then said, 'Why don't you send for her?' I replied, 'In the first place, I have no authority to send for her, and if I had, I have not the means to pay expenses.' To this he answered, 'I give you authority to send for her, and I will furnish you with means,' which he did. This was the first time the Prophet Joseph talked with me on the subject of plural marriage. He informed me [that] 'It is your privilege to have all the wives you want. . . . He also informed me that he had other wives living besides his first wife Emma, and in particular gave me to understand that Eliza R. Snow, Louisa Beman, Desdemona W. Fullmer and others were his lawful wives in the sight of Heaven."⁵

This was a crucial moment in Clayton's life. He could have said to Smith: "Well, all right, when I was on my mission in Manchester, England, Sarah Crooks did bathe my forehead with rum, wash my feet, and give me sweet cakes, cups of tea with red wine, and mint drops. I felt tempted by 'impure affections,' but the Lord 'preserved me from doing wrong.' However, that was a long time ago. Now here I am, happily married, raising a family in Nauvoo, busy in the Lord's work. I might like more women in my life. I'm only human. But I just don't think it's right, and I couldn't do this to Ruth. No, thank you."⁶

⁵ "William Clayton's Testimony," Feb. 16, 1874, in Jensen, "Plural Marriage," *Historical Record* 6 (May 1887): 224-26; Smith, *An Intimate Chronicle*, Appendix C, 556-57.

⁶ Clayton's missionary miniature with Sarah Crooks is recorded in his "England

Some in Smith's inner circle responded in this way, but not William Clayton. As nearly as we can tell, he accepted Smith's invitation unhesitatingly and within three years had married four additional women. Later in Salt Lake he reaffirmed his conviction of plural marriage: "I support a family of near forty persons on a salary of \$3,600 per annum and we live well, are well clothed and very comfortably situated. . . . I have six wives whom I support in comfort and happiness and am not afraid of another one. I have three children born to me during the year, and I don't fear a dozen more."⁷ Clayton eventually married ten women and fathered forty-seven children.

Did Clayton enter into polygamy simply in unquestioning obedience to ecclesiastical authority, that highly ambiguous virtue commended to members of the contemporary LDS church? I don't think so. He was almost embarrassingly enthusiastic about the proposal. Conspicuously missing from his recital is any evidence of soberly measuring himself against the demands of these new responsibilities. Also missing is any mention of Ruth's reaction to his diversification of the marriage bed.

However, I don't think the issue is one of simple sexual avarice. After being invited into the inner circle of polygamous men, Clayton wrote, with obvious humility: "For this again I feel grateful to God and his servant, and the desire of my heart is to do right and be saved."⁸ Furthermore, he seems to have been genuinely and generously affectionate, uncomplicatedly comprehensive in his affections. At one point, he pled with the Lord to give him a particular woman; at another, he prayed to receive "the gift" in full—suggesting marital fulfillment.⁹ His wives were comparably affectionate in their expressions to him. For example, Diantha, about to give birth to their first child, wrote: "I dream about you almost every night. . . . I never shall consent to have

and Emigration" journal, Smith, *An Intimate Chronicle*, 29, 32, 38, 39, 41-47, 49, 52, 149. The internal quotations are from this diary.

⁷ Clayton letterbooks, November 7, 1869, Western Americana, Marriott Library, University of Utah, Salt Lake City.

⁸ Smith, *An Intimate Chronicle*, 94.

⁹ *Ibid.*, 153.

you leave me again."¹⁰ In short, Clayton did not seem to find the "principle" of plural marriage uncomfortable in any discernible way.

Professionally, I found much to admire in Clayton, the skilled recordkeeper, accountant, and business manager. Through his descriptions of his work relationships, I came to know him as careful, precise, and responsible. He routinely rose before dawn to complete an assignment he had been given and, en route to Utah, often finished entries by candlelight. Thoroughness and accuracy were traits he prized. Joseph Smith relied upon Clayton to keep things working in Nauvoo, especially during difficult times. For example, since Nauvoo land had been acquired with warrants for parcels of the Military Bounty Tract, issued to War of 1812 veterans and sold to speculators, title was generally ambiguous and needed to be secured by payment of property taxes. Joseph Smith, who had entered into the land business in Nauvoo, delegated much of the administration and disputes regarding tax payments to Clayton. He frequently made entries about hurried trips to Carthage to redeem city lots which had been sold for taxes. Any person who has obligations to administrators, customers, or government agencies can admire his obvious competence and understand why Joseph relied on his management abilities.

Clayton was something of a self-made man, another trait I find admirable. Born in 1814 at Charnock Moss on England's west coast, he was educated by his schoolteacher father and trained as a bookkeeper in textile manufacturing, England's primary growth industry. Despite a paucity of evidence from his early life, I see him as a capable young businessman, part of England's rapid transition from an agrarian to an industrial society. His religious feelings were shaped by early association with the Church of England and were probably influenced by the urban blight that accompanied industrialization. I see him as drawn to Mormonism by its latter-day message of the imminent end of the world, a belief he expressed throughout his life. He spoke of "prominent signs" indicating that the Lord's judgment was falling upon the nations,

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, xxix n. 47.

and once wrote to a friend: "Are not the prophecies fulfilling fast, signs in the sun, earthquakes, hurricanes, storms and floods."¹¹ He often referred to supernatural forces which controlled people's lives. At his first meeting with Apostle Wilford Woodruff in Manchester, Clayton abruptly asked Woodruff to exorcise the devil from a woman whose illness Clayton had diagnosed as "possession."¹²

Clayton became a Mormon during the British proselyting mission of 1837 when he was twenty-three. He began keeping a daily diary three years later in 1840. How did he feel about the record he created? The line between his private writings and his official writings was not a strict one. Clayton's Nauvoo diaries contain material he seems to have viewed as sensitive or confidential (he often referred to Joseph's secret marriages or conjugal visits to plural wives with discreet initials),¹³ but he did not seem to regard the record itself as "secret." When Clayton's plural wife, Margaret, became pregnant under circumstances which Joseph feared might expose the practice, Clayton wrote matter-of-factly, perhaps even admiringly, of Joseph's plans to excommunicate him for adultery to hoodwink public opinion if this marital "infraction" were discovered. Joseph told Clayton: "Just keep her at home and brook it and if they raise trouble about it and bring you before me I will give you an awful scourging and probably cut you off from the church and then I will baptise you and set you ahead as good as ever."¹⁴

Although Clayton obviously felt strongly that he should write a complete and thorough record, he was no Samuel Pepys. His entries are not so much introspective or reflective as they are dispassionate. He did not apparently consider his own opinions about the landmark events he recorded as very significant. For

¹¹ *Ibid.*, li n. 118.

¹² *Ibid.*, xvii.

¹³ For example, Clayton wonders whether "Elmina" would give Joseph "E and EP" as wives. *Ibid.*, 117.

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, 122. I disagree with another of Clayton's biographers that Joseph may have meant this as a joke. James B. Allen, *Trials of Discipleship: The Story of William Clayton, A Mormon* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1987) 194-95.

example, his journal entry on 12 July 1843, to the plural marriage document is factual, neutral, and brief: "This A.M. I wrote a Revelation consisting of 10 pages on the order of the priesthood, showing the designs in Moses, Abraham, David and Solomon having many wives and concubines &c." Even when he amplified his account thirty years later in a letter, his concern was mainly to record the facts, not his feelings:

I did write the revelation on Celestial marriage given through the Prophet Joseph Smith on the 12th day of July 1843. When the revelation was written there was no one present except the prophet Joseph, his brother Hyrum and myself. It was written in the small office upstairs in the rear of the brick store which stood on the banks of the Mississippi River. It took some three hours to write it. Joseph dictated sentence by sentence and I wrote it as he dictated. After the whole was written Joseph requested me to read it slowly and carefully which I did, and he then pronounced it correct.¹⁵

Similarly, the journal reference to Emma's reaction merely reports that she "did not believe a word of it and appeared very rebellious," while the later account added, formally but revealingly, "The original was destroyed by Emma Smith." The journal's caution and brevity are consistent with Clayton's expectation, expressed several times, that the record would be read by others. For example, in 1847, along the western trail near Chimney Rock in western Nebraska, he recorded this personal observation: "I feel determined to do all I can to keep a journal of this expedition which will be interesting to my children in after days and perhaps to many of the Saints."¹⁶ He does not say why he began keeping a journal in 1840, nor why he stopped writing in 1853, but his very precision and regularity are evidence that he regarded his writing as a professional responsibility. He probably would have characterized himself as the recordkeeper of the Mormons. Although as someone who enjoys history I would like to know more of Clayton's personal opinions, his own transparency allows full focus on the events themselves. This quality

¹⁵ Clayton to Madison M. Scott, November 11, 1871, quoted in Smith, *An Intimate Chronicle*, 110.

¹⁶ *Ibid.*, 324.

impresses me about the journals' factual accuracy.

Like Clayton's earlier *England and Emigration* journals, the Nauvoo journals elaborate the daily life of the Mormon community. These journals are unique in their personal references to Joseph Smith and Clayton's participation in the secret practice of plural marriage. However he also discusses other aspects of Nauvoo life, such as doctrines and religious practices which dealt with plural gods, God as a man, God as Adam, and resurrection by literal rebirth to a woman; administrative and financial conditions, such as a U.S. monetary system replete with foreign coins and bogus paper; and political and legal relationships, such as the prevalent fear of British intervention in the young American republic and their possible collusion with disenchanted Mormons, and the Saints' use of habeas corpus as a defense against arrest by lawmen outside of Nauvoo.

Clayton was a member of the Council of Fifty. As its secretary, he kept minutes of the meetings of this shadow government of Nauvoo and recorded Joseph Smith's plans, continued by Brigham Young, to establish Mormon colonies in Florida, Texas, the West Indies, California, Oregon, Vancouver Island, and the Great Basin. Subsequent journals record the overland migration westward and ocean travel back to England, topography he observed on his travels, and the trail's food, disease, Indians, and buffalo. Mountain men and explorers like Jim Bridger and the promoter Lansford Hastings, who influenced the ill-fated Donner party, as well as the Mormon pioneers who benefited from Donner's trailblazing the previous year, also appear in Clayton's journal.

Clayton's attitude toward his journal-keeping is reflected in his seriousness about his job. Throughout his journals he demonstrates concern for doing the job well and sometimes complains about being overworked. He frequently wrote that he had spent all day recording tithing and copying the "minutes of the Kingdom" (Kingdom of God or Council of Fifty). On the trail out of Nauvoo into Mexico, he remarked that, as clerk of the camp, he had more writing to do than he could possibly handle. Sometimes we find him writing along the trail late at night and rising before dawn to care for the animals. Recrossing the plains on a mission to England in 1852, Clayton noted that he had no opportunity to take

full minutes of meetings held on the trail because he was writing the camp journal. He wrote or copied professionally at "a dollar a day or 3 cents on Every 100 words copying."¹⁷ However, he once commented that he had written 124 pages in Heber Kimball's journal, averaging 600 words a page, which if paid at the price of recording deeds in Illinois would amount to over \$110.

There is some evidence that Clayton saw himself as sharing in the strength of the Prophet, a man whom he believed held the keys to salvation in an afterlife. He took care to avoid any action which, in Joseph Smith's judgment, might jeopardize his eternal destiny. In Nauvoo Clayton was officially Joseph Smith's right-hand man, and Clayton flourished in the benevolent shade of his eminent and only boss. He never took orders from any other church leader until Smith was killed. Then, despite Clayton's technical and managerial abilities, he slipped from the center of Mormon power. There was no immediate sign of this diminished influence. He accompanied the vanguard pioneers into the Salt Lake Valley, but he was never invited to assist Brigham Young personally as he had served Joseph Smith and he was not called to any central ecclesiastical responsibilities between 1844 and 1852.

He willingly returned to England in 1852-53 to promote the newly announced practice of plural marriage, but there he had unfortunate experiences involving alcohol addiction and charges of adultery, likely based on a misreading of his polygamous relationships. As Clayton tells the story, he arrived in Manchester, fell ill, and recuperated for ten days at the home of an unnamed "apostate Mormon." Writing about this episode, he said, "This scoundrel to be revenged on the doctrine of plurality, made use of arguments which I used to show him that it was scriptural, as though I had acknowledged that I had more wives than one"—which of course he did—"and has trumped up a malicious set of lies and told them to some of the brethren in Manchester," which they apparently believed. To complicate matters, Clayton took "a glass of gin to stimulate me for the task" of explaining his late arrival at his mission assignment. It was an "unfortunate act." He

¹⁷ *Ibid.*, 289.

related, "The weakness of my body, and being so long without food, caused it to take hold of me," so that when he arrived, the brethren "could see that I had had something to drink very plain." He then lamented that "the effects of the gin almost made me crazy." Clayton was accused of having "unlawful intercourse with women," suspended, and then reinstated to his duties. Within a few weeks he was sent home to Utah. He described this episode as "the most unpleasant, and bitterest period of my life."

In an 1856 appeal to Brigham Young to regain his confidence, Clayton expressed willingness to "do anything I can that you wish of me." He was offering, in short, the same dauntless devotion to Brigham Young that he had earlier given Joseph Smith—but Brigham didn't want it.¹⁸ Clayton's role in Nauvoo was dependent on his friendship with Joseph Smith. Brigham Young apparently lacked similar confidence in Clayton. The unfortunate experience in England not only concluded Clayton's official service to Mormon leaders but, to the regret of future historians, also terminated his journal-keeping.

During the next thirty years in Salt Lake City Clayton's professional service was civil and entrepreneurial, rather than ecclesiastical. He became secretary of the territorial legislature, territorial auditor of Utah, Recorder of Marks and Brands, and Receiver of Weights and Measures, and he cut dies for the new Mormon money. Amidst numerous private endeavors, Clayton was involved in mining, farming, bookkeeping, and debt collecting; he was treasurer of Zions Cooperative Merchantile Institution and once ran a merchantile business on Main Street that advertised "Fancy Dry Goods and Notions, A Splendid Lot of Boots, Shoes, Hats and Caps, Ladies' Dress Goods and Trimmings, Porcelain, Queensware and Glasswares, Hardware, Groceries and Dye Stuffs."¹⁹

It is impossible to know how Clayton felt about this new personal distance from the center of Mormon power. In his later years he focused on magic and the expected millennium, con-

¹⁸ Clayton to Thomas Bullock, February 5, 1853; Clayton to Brigham Young, January 8, 1853; in Smith, *An Intimate Chronicle*, 288ff.

¹⁹ *Ibid.*, lili.

cerns he had shared with many early Mormons. He acquired occult objects, including a "copy of the guide, Cabala," and for \$3.00 each he sent away by mail order for "Mysterious Elietical and Wierd rings" and a "Secret Talisman of the Ancient Hebrews and Egyptians."²⁰ Perhaps he was attempting to seek spiritual power through this alternative source. He was also interested in theater, books, newspapers, music. He carried the works of Voltaire and Frederick the Great across the plains under his wagon seat; in Utah he subscribed to English newspapers and such periodicals as *Harper's Monthly and Weekly*, *Atlantic Monthly*, *Godey's Lady's Book*, *Author's Magazine*, *Ballou's Dollar Monthly*, *Ballou's Novelette*, *New York Ledger*, *London Punch*, and *Reynold's Miscellany*. Family members described his punctiliousness and his taste for fine clothing. He composed and performed music. He dreamed about marriage, money, and episodes along the westward trail.

As Clayton's voice speaks from his journal, I hear a professionally competent administrator, although letters from his later years suggest an over-correctness and stiffness in his concern for propriety and order. His children remember him as well-dressed, methodical, and punctual. In his early years, when he was courting and marrying, and playing his violin for parties in the Nauvoo Temple or along the trail, historian Orson F. Whitney described him as "jovial" and "lively." Within the context of the hundreds of Nauvoo plural marriages, which in Utah would expand into the thousands, Clayton's passion for women seems benign and uncomplicated. He was a caring father and an affectionate and considerate husband. The Clayton family would often gather in their "big house" in Salt Lake City to perform music and dance. Plural marriage was a system he found congenial and, without difficulty, he seems to have overcome any conventional scruples under his loyalty to Joseph Smith and his feeling of being religiously justified before God.

For me, however, Clayton's personal life was eclipsed by the Nauvoo life pictured in his journals. Behind Clayton stands Joseph Smith, casting a long shadow that reaches beyond his devoted

²⁰ *Ibid.*, li n. 18.

amanuensis into our own days. When I was editing Clayton's papers, I continually saw Joseph Smith, his personality and influence, the intimate relationship between Joseph and William, and how their involvement suggested Joseph's conduct with other friends.

Theirs was not a relationship of equals. Clayton was nine years younger and made no attempt to conduct the friendship on any footing of mutuality. Certainly, the Prophet seemed to like Clayton and enjoy his company. There is no record that Joseph ever erupted in anger toward Clayton as he did at Sidney Rigdon, Orson Pratt, and others. Clayton, as his "private clerk," was daily in the Prophet's company, and both of them seemed pleased by the arrangement. The question must be raised, of course, whether Clayton was merely a sycophant, sedulously shading his personal record to present himself in the best possible light and casting every interaction in the most positive way. Perhaps, but there is no evidence from other sources that this might be so, and Clayton's writings seem uncontrived and sincere, characteristics which persuade me that he recorded what he genuinely saw and felt.

Clayton's simple directness is, of course, the great value of his records; but I thought that his credulous reporting lacked analysis. Like many other Saints, he respected Joseph Smith without qualification. Perhaps it is that element of dependence—close and affectionate though it was—that I resist as ultimately demeaning. Smith essentially made Clayton's moral decisions for him. Clayton was continually concerned about his status in an afterlife—a common preoccupation of the religious American. It was an article of his personal faith that Joseph Smith's map of salvation was accurate in every detail. The Prophet's perception of celestial rewards and his power to influence this outcome were for Clayton a ticket to heaven. Once he had committed himself to Joseph Smith's religious leadership, Clayton relinquished his personal judgment on religious questions. There were dissenters among the Mormons, but Clayton was never among them. His admiration for Joseph Smith is compelling evidence to me that Smith's character was especially persuasive. Clayton's acceptance of Smith's "above-the-rules" attitude suggests that Clayton felt part of an association which was extremely important to him, one he

was not willing to jeopardize by any expression of dissent.

I might have found it difficult to share Clayton's uncritical acceptance of the many spontaneous religious proclamations that Joseph Smith made which convinced early Latter-day Saints of his authority during their association in a frontier Mississippi River town. Still, I acknowledge and salute William Clayton. A man who stood in the shadow of power, this contemporary journalist cast his own light on the Nauvoo landscape, revealing intimate details about Joseph Smith and his remarkable theocratic society. These journals, especially the Nauvoo portions, testify to the persuasiveness of Smith's personality and message to those who believed.

REVIEWS

Massimo Introvigne. *Les Mormons*. Collection Fils d'Abraham. (Turnhout, Belgium): Editions Beepeds, 1991; 201 pp., illustrations, bibliography, appendices; 845 Belgian francs. 2-503-50063-3

Reviewed by Davis Bitton

Massimo Introvigne, Catholic director of the Center for the Study of New Religions (CESNUR) at Turin in Italy, has turned himself into a serious, informed scholar on Mormonism, as evidenced by a series of papers presented at annual meetings of the Mormon History Association. He has studied not only Mormon history and doctrine but also the diverse schismatic groups in the complex web of Latter Day Saintism. Add to this fact the paucity of good books on the subject in French, and we can perhaps begin to appreciate the significance of a work that is a welcome addition to the literature in general but is especially significant for the French-language audience. (The book is also being translated into Italian, in which language it will be decidedly superior to Michele Staniero's *I Mormoni*, which is not without value but is too often snide and misleading.)

Since I myself have attempted to make a contribution in this direction by publishing for Les Editions du Cerf a small work of the same title in 1989, let me quickly say that the series Fils d'Abraham has allowed Introvigne more than twice as much text space in addition to graphics and illustrations. My book can still serve as a handy introduction and is, I think, reliable for its purpose, but Introvigne's volume contains more information and has much to recommend it.

The major divisions of the book deal with history, doctrine, the arts, spiritual life, a sociological profile, and description of Church organization, followed by a substantial bibliography and appendices.

The opening chapter summarizes Mormon history. Although Introvigne's claim that the First Vision followed a schema familiar to Christian mystics is at least debatable, he describes the coming forth of the Book of Mormon matter-of-factly. He dismisses the Spaulding thesis but claims that even some Mormon scholars accept the possibility of influence by Ethan Smith's *View of the Hebrews*. I had to wonder how many such people there are and in what sense they are "Mormon." A paragraph on folk magic, fashionable in the wake of Mark Hofmann, leads to the

¹ Massimo Introvigne, *I Mormoni* (Padova: Interlogos/Città del Vaticano: Libreria Editrice Vaticana, 1993).

following balanced judgment: "The dynamic that led thousands and then millions to accept the Book of Mormon as a revelation is essentially religious. It is doubtful that one who has decided to accept it as a sacred book can be convinced by the criticisms of those who see in it a series of anachronisms in conflict with what archaeology can tell about ancient America. Likewise, the movement of Mormon archaeology established by some members of the Church to discover elements of Hebrew civilization in pre-Columbian cultures has not made the skeptics any less skeptical" (p. 16).

Introvigne describes a succession crisis at the death of Joseph Smith, resulting in six great factions that turned into denominations: those who followed Brigham Young; those who later set up the Reorganized Church; the followers of Sidney Rigdon, whose spiritual descendants are the Bickertonites; the followers of James J. Strang; the followers of Alpheus Cutler; and the followers of Granville Hedrick, whose movement underwent later schisms. Maintaining his sense of distance, the author presents all of these claimants as equals, although he does recognize that the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints (which he often calls "the majoritarian church") has more than 90 percent of the total—an understatement.

The historical summary is nicely done, with almost no errors. J. H. Roberts was not excluded from the U.S. Senate but from the House of Representatives. Introvigne predicts that membership will reach 8 million by the year 2000; that figure had been surpassed at the end of 1991.

The discussion of "Mormon doctrine" is basically unobjectionable, although I am not sure that the most important point to make regarding Mormons and the Bible is the existence and use of the Joseph Smith "translation." Two kinds of apologetic are noted: scientific-historical and existential. An interesting discussion of continuous revelation argues that, although Mormons disclaim the term "infallibility," that is exactly what they claim for their prophet (pp. 36-37).

Introvigne does not ignore historical development. Four phases are briefly described: 1830-32, 1832-90, 1890-1925, and 1925-1975. It is not helpful, I think, to mention in passing and without qualification that Brigham Young identified God with Adam. And I personally consider it doubly ridiculous, first, to identify Hugh Nibley and Bruce R. McConkie as "neo-orthodox," with suggested influences from Barth and Niebuhr, and second, to consider their theology the only feature worth mentioning between 1925 and 1975 (pp. 40-41).

As for the present generation, those like myself who have participated in symposia or published in the unofficial intellectual journals do not, I hope, take ourselves so seriously as to think that we represent current Mormon theology or the "cutting edge," as he suggests. At least Introvigne, trying to give a large view of the ferment within the Mormon community, correctly notes that members who have access only to *The Principles of the Gospel* or LeGrand Richards's *A Marvelous Work and*

a Wonder don't have the whole picture. It is equally true that many American (and other) Mormons, who have ready access to everything published in English, show a sturdy disinterest in the views of self-appointed theologians and intellectual critics and are quite satisfied with the scriptures and general conference addresses.

In the topical discussion of doctrines, we are given a sketchy, inadequate understanding of the fall and of the atonement. A paragraph presents the concept of exaltation and potential gods rather starkly and concludes with the claim that this is "salvation by works." While such a Pelagian tilt is probably accurate, balance would require recognition of the central and indispensable saving role of Jesus Christ, nowhere taught more powerfully than in the Book of Mormon. Although Introvigne and others can perhaps be pardoned for not mentioning something which all too often has been ignored by Mormons, recent sermons and publications have brought the fundamental principle of grace back into focus. On the question of whether Mormons are Christian, our author punts: because of the belief in exaltation and a plurality of gods, they are not Christian in the orthodox sense. It all depends on definitions. Perhaps, he says, Jan Shipps provides the answer: it is "a new religious tradition" (p. 50). Well, yes. But why not "a new (or restored) Christian religious tradition"?

A brief summary of Mormon architecture, art, and literature is followed by a description *seriatim* of ordinances and principles. I was surprised to read that the Strangites believe in a kind of transubstantiation. An inordinate amount of attention is given to the history of the Word of Wisdom. I wonder what the research is behind the statement that "the intellectual community, of a more liberal orientation, has always poorly supported the Word of Wisdom" (p. 121). Still, the basic facts of the need to interpret the original revelation and the increasing emphasis given to it in the twentieth century are beyond dispute.

Fifteen pages are devoted to a detailed description of temple ordinances, drawn heavily from David J. Buerger and D. Michael Quinn, as well as Boyd K. Packer and Mark E. Petersen. Apparently nothing is out of bounds any more. I find no (or almost no) inaccuracies in the account and—let us give him credit—Introvigne avoids the snide tone we have encountered elsewhere. Even his detailed narrative of Masonry and the possible influences therefrom is couched carefully, never claiming a simple take-over of the Masonic rites. I wish, since the subject is broached in the first place, that a few sentences had been allowed on the fundamental differences.

A chapter of sociological analysis—different social classes, proselyting strategies—is followed by a description of the church organization, listing current General Authorities. A list of addresses allows interested readers to contact not only the LDS Church and the RLDS Church but several of the smaller surviving groups (even including a contact address for

fundamentalists), anti-Mormons, learned journals (but not *The Ensign* or *Saints' Herald*), and missions.

In the middle of the book instead of the usual end position are documents, some fifty pages worth: the canonical account of the First Vision; extracts from the Book of Mormon, Doctrine and Covenants, and Pearl of Great Price, the Articles of Faith, the King Follett discourse, the key documents on polygamy, the revelation extending priesthood to black men, two hymns ("Come, Come, Ye Saints" and "O My Father"), the supposed call of James J. Strang, the "inspired document" that extended priesthood to women of the Reorganized Church, and a testimony from an RLDS woman who was then ordained. It is always fun to consider alternative selections, and one might wish for fuller introductions to place these sources in context, but readers in the French audience will at least be introduced to the flavor of some of the original materials.

A comprehensive bibliography prepared by Michael W. Homer is divided topically. Predictably one can call attention to omissions (for example, Michael Hicks's *Mormonism and Music* [Urbana and Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 1989]) and wish for greater discrimination or some indication of relative worth of the works listed. But for what it is, I give this bibliography high marks.

An appendix of nine pages includes a list of temples; maps showing relative strength of the Church in the United States and in the world; a chart showing numbers of members in the different U.S. states and countries of the world, maps and a graph showing growth; and a fascinating chart showing the filiation, or genealogy, of fourteen groups of Latter-day/Day Saints.

To summarize, Massimo Introvigne has provided a useful introductory study based on extensive familiarity with the primary and secondary sources. As a Catholic he has "fundamental objections" to Mormon theology and proselyting (pp. 9-10), but he has not written a polemic. He has paid Mormonism the compliment of taking it seriously.

DAVIS BITTON, professor of history at the University of Utah, is coauthor with Leonard J. Arrington of *The Mormon Experience* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1979; 2d edition, Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1992) and of *Mormons and Their Historians* (Salt Lake City: University of Utah Press, 1988).

Harold Bloom. *The American Religion: The Emergence of the Post-Christian Nation*. New York: Simon & Schuster, 1992; 288 pp., index, \$22. 0-671-6799-7X

Reviewed by Richard Dilworth Rust

Harold Bloom in *The American Religion: The Emergence of the Post-Christian Nation* is like the blind Hindu who grabbed an elephant's tail and then defined the elephant as being like a rope. Bloom has hold of something, but his description of it is limited and distorted.

Calling himself a self-appointed religious critic, this well-read literary critic argues that there is an American religion and that it is found most centrally in Mormonism and the Southern Baptist Convention. Bloom brashly defines this religion as post-Christian. In doing so, he makes what I consider outrageous and unsupportable statements such as: Mormonism is "as different from Christianity as Islam is" (p. 116); to Mormons, "Joseph Smith was and is a far more crucial figure than Jesus could be" (p. 123); and both Mormons and Baptists "do not need the Crucifixion, and show little interest in it" (p. 213). Acknowledging himself "an unbelieving Jew of strong Gnostic tendencies" (p. 30), Bloom sees "the American religion" as based on Gnosticism, Enthusiasm (inspiration or emotionalism), and Orphism ("the potential divinity of the elitist self," p. 52).

In the fallen "Evening Land of Western culture" (p. 260) that Bloom sees as America, the Gnosticism of the American religion is a belief that something in the self "preceded the created world" and is at peace "when it is alone with an abyss that preceded the world God made" (p. 31). The American impulse is toward "a dangerous and doom-eager freedom: from nature, time, history, community, and other selves" (p. 49). Gnosticism posits "a vast cosmological emptiness . . . headed by the Demiurge, a deity who created the cosmos, and our bodies and souls, in one blundering act that was also a Fall" (p. 50). This, Bloom affirms, has always been "the hidden religion of the United States" (p. 50).

Bloom says the American religion began with a great camp meeting at Cane Ridge, Kentucky, in August 1801 that precipitated "a kind of orgiastic individualism" (p. 63) still found in Baptists who walk and talk one-on-one with what Bloom calls "the American Jesus." While devoting six of his sixteen chapters to the individualistic Mormons ("American original") and Baptists, Bloom also discusses elements of the American religion in "rival American originals," Christian Science, Seventh-day Adventism, Jehovah's Witnesses, Pentecostalism, and the New Age.

In Bloom's central section on the Mormons, he lauds Joseph Smith as "an authentic religious genius, unique in our national history" (p. 82). This genius is manifest in Joseph Smith's "radical sense of theomorphic patriarchs and anthropomorphic gods," an "authentic return to J, or the Yahwist, the Bible's first author" (p. 83). Uneasy about what he interprets to be Joseph Smith's expanding kingdom of God, Bloom worries about "the surge of Mormon power that is incessant" in a society he considers "dangerously religion-soaked, even religion-nad" (pp. 92, 35).

However much Bloom is uneasy about Mormonism, he admires Joseph Smith as surpassing "all Americans, before or since, in the possession and expression of what could be called the religion-making imagi-

nation" (pp. 96-97). Bloom has hold of something in asserting, "In proportion to his importance and his complexity, [Joseph Smith] remains the least-studied personage, of an undiminished vitality, in our entire national saga" (p. 95). Yet in dismissing the Book of Mormon as scarcely sustaining a full or close reading (p. 86), he misses an opportunity to see the aesthetics and spirituality of this powerful book. Instead, he looks elsewhere for what he calls "the more mature spiritual speculations of Joseph Smith" (p. 86)—those he considers intuitions of elements censored out of archaic Jewish religion.

While Bloom often uses "audacious" in reference to others, the term best describes Bloom's performance in *The American Religion*. The work is sparsely documented, not allowing evaluation of Bloom's assertions. Bloom the agnostic provides no validation for his view that "we possess religion . . . to obscure the truth of our perishing" (p. 29). Bloom the Gnostic is absolutely sure he knows what is hidden from others, yet offers no evidence at all for statements like this: The country's "believers are not at all what they purport to be" (p. 22). While Americans quest for "the unfindable primitive Christian church," what they "actually seek to restore is not the church of the first Christians, but the primal Abyss, named by the ancient Gnostics as both our foremother and our forefather" (p. 30). Despite the Mormon understanding that "the god of this world" (2 Cor. 4:4) is the devil, Bloom says Mormons "take Jesus only as another name for the God of this world" (p. 91); they "worship the Demiurge as God" (p. 32). "The American Christ is more an American than he is Christ" (p. 25). "We think we are Christian, but we are not" (p. 37). And, "the current Mormon rhetoric in invoking Jesus Christ does serve as a perhaps deliberate veil behind which a post-Christian religion continues its complex development" (p. 88).

While I admire Bloom's skillful use of language, I am disturbed by his rhetorical tricks and fear-mongering. Bloom's initial reference to "baptism for the dead" becomes "baptizing the dead"—which allows for the damning charge, "How do you therapeutically cleanse or purify the dead?" (p. 119). He sees "a shape darkly emergent . . . in the overtly indigenous faiths, of which Mormonism is the most impressive" (p. 35). The Mormons with "spiritual audacity" are "sublimely insane" in their "titanic design" to convert the world (p. 94). And someday soon, Bloom is convinced, "they will be the Established Church of the American West" (p. 263).

Besides "audacious," another favorite word for Bloom is "parody." In some respects, *The American Religion* in itself could be considered a parody. Bloom denies Joseph Smith as a divinely inspired prophet ("Smith's insight could have come *only* from a remarkably apt reading of the Bible," p. 84; italics mine); Bloom assumes "magical trance-states were involved" in the composition of the Book of Mormon (p. 86). At the same time, Bloom self-righteously sets himself up as a prophet. Calling Emerson, Nietzsche, and Freud "prophetic figures," he says,

"Religious criticism and prophecy are two names for the same activity of the spirit" (p. 38).

Given this slant, it fits that the concluding section of this book is entitled, "The American Religion: A Prophecy." Bloom's prophecy is essentially a political one and reveals his prominent bias against those who have brought "the fall of America during these Reagan-Bush years" (p. 231). Throughout the book, Bloom attacks President George Bush as "the American leader most deeply attached to linked emblems of our national religion: the flag and the fetus" (p. 45) and fears "that we will never again see a Democrat in the Presidency during my lifetime" (p. 57-58). Bloom is sure that a "dangerously strong" coalition of American Religionists "guarantee the continued ascendancy of the Reagan-Bush dynasty" (p. 269)—a prophecy now shown to be false.

While I remain unpersuaded by most of its main arguments pertaining to Mormonism, Bloom's *The American Religion* will be valuable if it prompts others to pay closer attention to what Bloom calls "the religion-making imagination" of Joseph Smith. Besides the latter-day scriptures, a place to begin is in carefully reading the emerging volumes of the Joseph Smith Papers, edited by Dean Jesse. While no man knows Smith's history, his thoughts and life are now more available for serious study.

RICHARD DILWORTH RIST is a professor of English at the University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill. Besides his work in nineteenth-century American literature, he has published several essays on the Book of Mormon as literature.

Richard E. Turley, Jr., *Victims: The LDS Church and the Mark Hofmann Case*. Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1992; viii, 552 pp., 43 photographs, endnotes, bibliography, appendix of "Suspect Items Acquired by the LDS Church," index; \$27.95. 0-252-01885-0

Reviewed by Jeffery O. Johnson

Given three books on the Mark Hofmann murders and forgeries,¹ why do we need another? Richard E. Turley, Jr., author of *Victims*, says this book is necessary to present "the case from a victim's view." Although

¹ Robert Lindsey, *A Gathering of Saints* (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1988), Steven Naifeh and Gregory White Smith, *The Mormon Murders* (New York: Weidenfeld and Nicolson, 1988), and Linda Sillitoe and Allen D. Roberts, *Salamander* (Salt Lake City: Signature Books, 1988).

he includes Kathy Sheets and Steve Christensen as victims, he focuses his attention on the third victim, the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, and describes his book as helping to "fill a historical gap by relating the experiences and feelings of the church leaders and employees most involved in the case" and also by "correct[ing] some misconceptions" that have become "part of the media record" (p. vii). In short, Turley views the Church as victimized by bad publicity and bad documents.

As managing director of the LDS Historical Department (appointed after Hofmann's exposure), Turley writes an insider's history, using his privileged access to an impressive number of documents, including diaries, journals, interviews, notes, telephone logs, and file memos written by members of the First Presidency, other General Authorities, Church employees, and security personnel. A source bibliography would have made their scope clearer, but the 101 pages of endnotes are impressive. None of the authors of the other three books had access to many of these sources. Unfortunately, most of the sources are not available to any other historian and it is not possible to evaluate Turley's evidence or his use of the documents. However, he records his hope that "most will end up in archival institutions, where they may be preserved for future generations" (p. 395). If their preservation also includes access, then this will not be the last book on a topic as sensational and one with such profound institutional implications as the Hofmann forgeries and murders.

Turley's efforts to set the record straight usually take the form of recounting a particular episode in great detail, using his own sources, then exhaustively cataloging instances of factual and interpretive errors. For example, he notes that the other three books, reflecting an investigator's hypothesis,

suggest that Steve Christensen had been called to replace Mark Hofmann as a church agent to acquire documents, implying therefore that church officials' denials of this theory constituted a cover-up. . . . The theory rests on the premise that Hofmann was an acquisition agent for the church. A more complete view of the evidence, however, shows that although Hofmann once proposed becoming a document agent for the church, church officials refused to accept his proposal, opting instead to treat him as a dealer. . . . Because Hofmann had not been appointed as the church's acquisition agent, the conclusion that Christensen was to replace him in that capacity does not follow. (p. 159, n. 54; documentation omitted)

The reader will concede this point but naturally ask, Is it possible that Christensen, rather than replacing Hofmann, had an independent interest in establishing himself as a document dealer? The note continues for almost a complete page marshalling other evidence that Christensen had

neither interest in nor plans to change his profession from the securities business. Although such detail-intensive writing makes for somewhat plodding reading, it is very persuasive. Other issues are handled with the same kind of detail, leaving the reader confident that Turley has provided very close to the last word on numerous areas of confusion.

This book also helps answer another vexing question generated by the Hofmann forgeries: How could Church leaders be so completely taken in by Hofmann? As a staff member at the LDS Historical Department during part of this time, I was perplexed and dismayed that archival staff members, who collectively had long years of experience working with early Mormon documents, were never consulted on Hofmann acquisitions or invited to documents discussions that he held with Historical Department administrators and General Authorities. Even Dean Jesse, an employee in the Church History Division and unquestionably the Church's leading expert on Joseph Smith documents was consulted more frequently by outsiders than by his own employer. Church leaders trusted Christensen to authenticate the McLellan collection (p. 134) because of his position as a bishop and because of his financial expertise, not because of any experience with documents.

Why? What accounts for this curious substitute system? I see it as part of a larger trend of anti-intellectualism on the part of the Church's leaders. Even though the First Presidency had hired and called Leonard J. Arrington as the Church's first professional Church Historian in 1972 and had a staff of professional archivists under Donald T. Schmidt, who had previously been a library administrator at BYU, I saw a persistent mistrust of "experts" by General Authorities over my fifteen years there. The application of professional standards to the description and care of original documents meant more professional research and interpretations of history as well. It is my feeling that some well-placed General Authorities perceived that allowing any other standard besides orthodoxy to apply to historical interpretation meant a loss of control over the Church's history. They feared and mistrusted this trend.

Hofmann played skillfully on this mistrust of the professional staff. For example, he told Gordon B. Hinckley that information concerning the Joseph Smith III blessing, which was published in the media, came from "the spouse of a Historical Department employee" (p. 60). When Hofmann donated his forgery of the Thomas Bullock letter referring to the Joseph Smith III blessing directly to Hinckley, Hofmann told him that one reason was "that the department had breached an earlier confidence" (p. 62). Although Turley documents Hofmann's easy prevarications throughout the book, his voluminous footnoting fails to establish what basis of fact, if any, these reports might have and what response, if any, President Hinckley and others involved in the decision made. In fact, Turley leaves the impression that they accepted the statements at face value. Although this mistrust between the leaders of

the Church and their own employees is regrettable, I applaud Turley's documentation of it.

Greater trust of professionals may have headed off another episode that I consider to be deplorable—the Church's possession of the McLellin collection that Hofmann was trying to sell. It was problems associated with the sale of this material which led to the murders. The Church had acquired the material in 1908 but it had been put in the First Presidency vault, not catalogued as part of the archival collection, and "forgotten." Just a month after Hofmann was charged with the murder, a search of the First Presidency's vault for the purported Oliver Cowdery history (again, acting on a Hofmann report), disclosed the McLellin material, even though it was much different from how Hofmann represented his collection. To his credit, Turley unflinchingly reports this event and the decision not to tell the investigators because "the discovered documents did not fall within any of the subpoenas issued to the church, and thus officials were not legally obligated to mention them to anyone. . . . Disclosure of the nearly discovered McLellin material, however, would reinforce notions of church suppression [of other documents]" (p. 250). Turley does not discuss whether the Church had an *ethical* obligation to disclose its possession, irrespective of its legal obligation, although he reports Elder Oaks's "opinion," confided to his journal, that these documents should be revealed "prior to the Hoffman [sic] trial" (p. 251). As a result, Elder Hugh Pinnock answered "No" under oath when asked, "To your knowledge, did any authority in the L.D.S. church ever obtain or possess the McLellin collection?" (p. 274). Turley does not say how Pinnock felt when he later discovered that he had testified unwittingly to a falsehood. Furthermore, the prosecution and defense attorneys entered a stipulation for President Hinckley that he had "never seen nor possessed nor has any knowledge of the whereabouts of a document or a group of documents known as the McLellin Collection" (p. 303). Both President Hinckley and Elder Oaks knew that this was not true. Since Hofmann pleaded guilty in a plea-bargain arrangement and there was no trial, the Church did not reveal possession of the McLellin collection until Turley's book was published in September 1992. The William E. McLellin diaries, which are the major part of the collection have since been both summarized and quoted in the *Church News* and are available to researchers.

The book is also valuable in documenting the hard-to-analyze informal workings of an organization like the Church where the clarity and rationality of its strictly hierarchical structure conflict at many points with other interests and tasks. Turley has provided important glimpses into the last years of President Kimball's administration and the first years of President Benson's. We learn, for example, that President Hinckley made most of the important decisions; that highly placed General Authorities, for example, Elder Oaks, were often only messengers carrying information to the First Presidency; that Seventies who met with the

First Presidency were accompanied by a member of the Twelve; that, at least in the case of the Hofmann documents, purchase decisions were made not by an acquisitions committee but by the First Presidency; that those with money, personal relationships, and/or Church positions can influence Church leadership; and that informal relationships are sometimes those with greatest power to open doors. It is a sorry commentary that Hofmann had indirect access to the First Presidency vault through Francis M. Gibbons, secretary to the First Presidency, when long-time staff did not (pp. 43, 52). Thus, Hofmann could freely imply that he had seen a certain document, because no professional on the staff could authoritatively state what was and what was not in the vault.

An important part of this book is the appendix, consisting of 445 items that the Church acquired from Mark Hofmann or his associates. But this appendix should be considered only a beginning. I believe the Church has an obligation to study these items and publish its findings about those determined to be forgeries. I further believe that the Church has an obligation to help uncover Hofmann forgeries that remain in the hands of other institutions or private collectors or dealers. The Church has the only archives with the human resources and a body of Hofmann forgeries sufficient to do this work. These undiscovered forgeries could affect the writing of Church history for generations.

The book is clearly written and very straightforward. Turley, an attorney, builds his case step by step, rather than using the combination of narrative, interpretation, and analysis more customary to historians. He explains the legal issues in detail and puts in context the case developed by the prosecution as well as the plea negotiation and sentencing issues. Anyone interested in recent Mormon history should include this book on his or her reading list.

However, despite the insider information and the exhaustively detailed documentation, I was left feeling vaguely dissatisfied. Anyone can be an innocent bystander or an accident victim. But if someone is a targeted victim or an abuse victim, the way to become a survivor, instead of remaining a victim, is to protect oneself from future abuse. Has this victim learned anything? I searched the book for answers. Turley identified one: "The Historical Department refined its acquisition procedures, carefully documenting all manuscripts received and giving greater emphasis than ever to provenance. Most of all, perhaps, church officials developed increasing skepticism toward accepting new and startling document discoveries" (p. 343). I was hoping for a sentence that would indicate they had also developed a respect for the records professionals employed in their own archives. I am sorry that I did not see it.

JEFFERY O. JOHNSON, director of the Utah State Archives, is former supervisor of manuscript and archival cataloging at the LDS Church Archives,

Donald R. Moorman with Gene A. Sessions. *Camp Floyd and the Mormons: The Utah War*. Salt Lake City: University of Utah Press, 1992; xi, 332 pp., photographs, index; \$29.95. ISBN 0-87480-394-2

Reviewed by Audrey M. Godfrey

Long overdue, both in its publication and in its contribution to Utah history, this study produces a clear picture of the players and the scene of the Utah War and its impact upon the Great Basin. As Charles S. Peterson remarks in the foreword, "The Utah War and the presence of an occupying force at Camp Floyd helped bring the Utah/Mormon territory into the American system" (p. ix).

When Donald Moorman died in 1980, he left a voluminous file of collected materials and a much revised manuscript on Camp Floyd. His family and colleagues in the Department of History at Weber State University, decided to publish his work. A conscious effort not to "attempt to update his sources with scholarship that has emerged since his death, nor to add lengthy sections of analysis to his text" (p. xv) has resulted in an excellent but sometimes outdated narrative.

While Sessions shows great loyalty to his colleague by his method, some updating in footnotes could have at least acknowledged current works without "distorting" the content. For example, in Chapter 7 on "The Tragedy of Mountain Meadows," Moorman and Sessions describe the wealth of the Fancher party and the presence of Missouri "wildcats" in the train; however, Larry Coates of Ricks College has recently refuted both claims by studies of land documents in Arkansas and Missouri and census records of Missouri and California.¹ End of trip records like newspaper accounts do not list any Missourians entering California in the fall of 1857, while the above land records show the wealth of the Fancher train to be modest at best.

The book also suffers either from too many editors or too few. The movement of individuals like John M. Bernhisel and General William S. Harney (chaps. 1-2) lacks continuity. Late in Chapter 8, John Reese and Walter Lowery appear and disappear without explanation. Numbers are inconsistently written out at one point and not at others. After the picture section, the point size of the type is larger. The designation of "Winter Quarters" for Camp Scott near Fort Bridger (p. 36) is confusing to readers who associate the capitalized name with the 1846-47 Mormon encampment on the banks of the Missouri River.

Moorman's prose, however, is wonderful. He uses this eloquent visual

¹ Lawrence G. Coates, "The Fancher Party before the Mountain Meadows Massacre," typescript, copyright April 29, 1992.

image when the army arrives in Salt Lake City: "With one broad sweep of its military fist, the federal government ended forever the Saints' dream of implanting a millennial society on the fringe of the frontier" (p. 4). He paints a picture of Camp Floyd's isolation with this sentence: "Stormy, starless skies made the ocean of sagebrush appear as lonely as a graveyard and tested the sentries' nerves" (p. 95). Many of these descriptive sentences show Moorman's gift of writing a picturesque narrative.

I particularly enjoyed Chapter 4, a mini-community history of Fairfield under "siege." Moorman skillfully brings together copious sources to create an excellent portrayal of the times. For instance, when army teamsters arrive at Camp Floyd with military supplies and camp followers set up business in Frogtown nearby, Moorman portrays them as "advancing like locusts freshly hatched by the summer sun" (p. 61). As winter snows and lack of capital prevented teamsters from returning east or going on to California, the resulting lawlessness and jostling of these rough characters with the inhabitants of the post and the community produced considerable tension. Moorman censures the federal government for exploiting the teamsters, then abandoning them to unemployment.

Pressure by the Mormons to rid the area of this pestiferous element of society left General Albert Sidney Johnston and Governor Alfred Cumming passing responsibility back and forth. In the meantime, the teamsters turned to crimes of theft and violence to alleviate their destitute circumstances. Other criminals attracted to the post also plagued Fairfield with their lawlessness.

In Chapter 6, Moorman produces a more balanced account of Justice John Cradlebaugh's role in Utah Territory than the Mormon caricature (villainous and reprehensible) or the federal caricature (righteous crusader). Moorman cites favorable comments about him by Mormon leaders soon after Cradlebaugh's arrival and a swiftly negative tone after he requested government troops to guard his court in Provo. The clash between this military presence and the citizens of the area caused Brigham Young to pressure Cumming to order the troops withdrawn. Moorman's carefully researched and well-written account of the disarmed court reveals a battle won at the expense of Cradlebaugh's judicial reputation. As a result, he failed to prosecute the perpetrators of the Mountain Meadows massacre; several local criminals also escaped punishment.

I found Chapter 13 a strange inclusion—a rogues' gallery of Utah and transient criminals. While their escapades are colorful and interesting, most had little connection to Camp Floyd. This chapter seems a self-indulgence on Moorman's part. Chapter 14 is a solid and relevant discussion of other events related to Camp Floyd: a plot to forge quartermaster drafts; an altercation between Sergeant Ralph Pike and Howard Spencer over herding rights in Rush Valley in which Pike nearly killed Spencer and was himself murdered in Salt Lake City during a break in his trial; and

the brutality of army surgeon Edward Covey and his party as they exited Utah.

After basically ignoring General Johnston for most of the book, Moorman ends with Johnston's last battle at Shiloh in April 1862 and a summary of the fate of other officers associated with the Utah Expedition. A more interesting epilogue might have been a discussion of the soldiers who stayed in Utah and cast their lot with the Saints. After all, Johnston chose not to fraternize with the territory's citizens, including Brigham Young, and thus had little personal impact on its people. It was the soldiers who visited the residents, bought their foodstuffs, and (when all went well) made friends.

When the army dispersed, it left men like Charlie Wright, who embraced the Mormon faith and became a respected schoolteacher in various northern Utah towns. Joseph Sinkler Giles, a Pennsylvania native, doctoring the people of Holden, Utah, and was eulogized at his death for his service to the community. James Henry Davids helped found Chesterfield, Idaho. Louis Strasburg fathered fourteen children and raised stock in Rush Valley where he served as justice of the peace. He later became mayor of Tropic. John Walter Caldwell, a carpenter from Ireland, returned to Utah after his discharge and joined the Home Dramatic Club in Ogden. He helped construct buildings in Almy and Evanston, Wyoming, and in Ogden. Certainly the impact of these men and others who stayed outlasted the leadership of General Johnston. They, too, deserve remembrance in the final words of a book on Camp Floyd.

Moorman's and Session's work includes excellent footnotes but the researcher may wish for a bibliography rather than being forced to root through all the notes for sources. The illustration sections contain photos of Mormon and military leaders and federal officers, sketches of the Utah Expedition in contemporary publications, and later photographs of the Camp Floyd site. *Camp Floyd and the Mormons: The Utah War* is an imperfect but rich resource for scholars and those interested in reading about Utah history.

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Richard Neltzel Holzapfel and Jeni Broberg Holzapfel, *Women of Nau-*

voo. Salt Lake City: Bookcraft, 1992; xi, 225 pp., photographs, notes, index; \$21.95. ISBN 0-88494-835-8

Reviewed by Marjorie Draper Conder

Several years ago I taught a class on women's history to a group of Latter-day Saints in which I assigned each student to interpret the life of an LDS woman from the perspectives presented in class. Several students communicated their surprise at realizing that, although they had a famous Mormon ancestor (male) whose doings were regularly celebrated at family reunions, they knew almost nothing of substance about his wife, her life, times, thoughts, or trials. Nor before this assignment had they even been aware of this omission. Several of these women had moving experiences exploring the lives and times of these "grandmothers" who had been "invisible" yet played indispensable roles in the restoration. *Women of Nauvoo* will doubtless be this kind of experience for many readers.

As an introductory work, *Women of Nauvoo* should appeal to both general and academic audiences. In this book are heard the voices of a variety of women as they respond to socially defined roles (such as wives, mothers, sisters) or to specific events (such as coming to Nauvoo, the organization of the Relief Society or the martyrdom.) While this book has surely not mined all the available first-person sources on the lives and times of women in Nauvoo, it presents the voices of both the famous and the unfamiliar in prose which is both clear and accessible; and the range of experiences and circumstances is so broad that it should pique and hold the interest of almost all readers.

The first and last chapters are an overview and summary/review. Some of the intermediate chapters are organized chronologically (there are separate chapters on the gathering, Relief Society, temple work, the martyrdoms of Joseph and Hyrum Smith, and leaving Nauvoo) with topical chapters (women's networks, women's tasks) interspersed.

The activities of "typical" Nauvoo women were daunting indeed. Not only did they carry out the routine chores of cooking, sewing, food preservation, laundry, making soap and candles, and maintaining kitchen gardens and dairies, in addition to their responsibilities as mothers, but they often did so with fewer resources than were typical for the times, dealt with recurrent illness, or did so in the absence of men to share some of the heavier tasks. "Not only did women in Nauvoo often lack food items and equipment needed in their daily work," observe the authors, "but the kinds of food they cooked and the clothes they wore were in many instances much different from what they were used to having. . . . Many sisters even took on chores that were not considered women's work in the East. . . . Home production, while becoming less important in the major urban centers in the East, still was a significant part of the Nauvoo economy" (pp. 36-37).

A surprising number of women of Nauvoo made financial contributions to their families through the production of goods (such as straw hats or quilts) or services (such as teaching or midwifery.) Many of these women lived as single parents and family breadwinners for extended periods and some were responsible for moving and settling their families, both in reaching and in leaving Nauvoo. Louisa Barnes Pratt, for example, watched her husband, Addison, leave for a mission to the South Pacific in 1843. They would not be reunited for five years. In his absence, Louisa supported herself and her children by barter, trade, sewing, and teaching, built a framed house, "won a reputation of being a punctual business woman," and eventually moved her family to Utah (p. 53).

These women further confronted a climate both hotter and colder than their previous homes and routinely dealt with the pregnancies, childbirths, and nursing which typically occupied at least a third of a nineteenth-century woman's adult life. They were hardly the wilting heroines of Victorian novels; and the Holzapfels quote William Fowler, author of *Women on the American Frontier*, in noting that the "sacrifices in moving west have been made largely by women" (p. 26). To read is to be exhausted!

A particularly useful orientation is the authors' focus on these women's religious motives. They record the reactions of women to new doctrine, to the labor of completing the Nauvoo Temple, to participating in its ordinances. Eliza R. Snow's doctrinal poem, "O My Father," was written in 1845 but it likely had its genesis in the teachings of Joseph Smith as early as 1839 (pp. 92-93). Mary and Mercy Fielding organized women to gather pennies for nails and window glass. The women loaned "potted plants and evergreens" to decorate the "Garden Room" of the temple, while their "rugs and carpets" provided comfort in the attic story (p. 150). Sixteen-year-old Mary A. Phelps wrote movingly of her participation in the "Quorum of the Anointed" (p. 126).

The most familiar continuing female legacy of Nauvoo, the Female Relief Society of Nauvoo is correctly put in the context of being more than another nineteenth-century benevolent society. While its members engaged in typical benevolent activities, they also saw the prophetic key turned to them by Joseph Smith as paving "the way for social, political, economic, religious and personal advancement, not just for the few Anglo-Saxon Mormon women gathered together in Nauvoo but for all women throughout the world from that time forward" (p. 180). Collectively they began to step beyond their own cultural stereotypes of women's proper sphere.

This is an important book. It pulls together information which will be new to many readers and is unobtrusively but thoroughly documented. It also contains perhaps the best collection of contemporary Nauvoo visuals to date. Nicely integrated and synthesized, it skillfully tells a broad social story with the vignettes of pieces of many individual women's

lives. Women and men hungry to know "her-story" will find that *Women of Nauvoo* fills a need.

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Francis M. Gibbons, *Joseph Fielding Smith: Gospel Scholar, Prophet of God*. Salt Lake City: Deseret Book Company, 1992; xvii, 524 pp., photographs, index, \$19.95. 0-87579-537-4

Reviewed by Gary James Bergera

Joseph Fielding Smith (1876-1972), tenth president of the Salt Lake City-based Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, is arguably the most influential LDS theologian of the twentieth century. (I use "theologian" loosely since Smith was more of an explicator than systematizer.) Virtually singlehandedly, joined only by Bruce R. McConkie, his apostle son-in-law and protégé, Smith defined orthodox LDS doctrine for a majority of contemporary Church members and, more important, for present and future local, regional, and general leaders. His mark on LDS theology is profound and probably permanent. We would expect a biography to put this theological impact into perspective.

Francis M. Gibbons's biography competently recounts Joseph Fielding Smith's relatively unremarkable life while largely ignoring his intellectual life and its impact. Joseph Fielding Smith grew up in a patriarchal pioneer Mormon household, namesake son of a rising General Authority and descendant of fallen patriarch Hyrum Smith. He was regularly reminded of this legacy, which rested uneasily upon him. His father, Joseph F. Smith, was nearly always gone on church assignments or hiding out from federal prosecutors on the underground while young Joseph passed the especially formative years of eight to fifteen. Joseph Fielding kept mostly to himself, reading extensively in the scriptures, finding security in predictability afforded by strict obedience to church rules and in unquestioning belief in its dogma.

As Gibbons unfolds the story, shortly before the turn of the century, Joseph Fielding began working as an unpaid personal secretary to his father, where he learned the inner workings of high-level church administration. Clearly, the father, who became church president in 1901, was grooming this son for a later position in the hierarchy. As the first-born son of his father's first plural wife, Joseph Fielding shouldered a special destiny in a patriarchal society—with the possible exception of Hyrum M., his father's first son by his first wife. Young Joseph also worked as a clerk in ZCMI, married, and served a proselyting mission to England,

There, homesick and facing indifference at best and open antagonism at worst, he concluded that the elect had already gathered to Zion and that his responsibility was to sound a millennial warning to an unbelieving generation. His contacts with non-Mormons were essentially adversarial and he baptized no one, leaving his mission even more firmly convinced of Mormonism's truthfulness, of humanity's corruptness, and of the correctness of his understanding of the gospel.

Back home, thanks primarily to his father's influence, Smith began working in the Church Historian's Office. Gibbons characterizes this career stage religiously: "The promising young man with the famous name was now on the path that would ultimately lead him to the prophetic office as president of the Church" (p. 109). Smith also continued his "behind-the-scenes role as his father's unofficial secretary and confidant," President Smith routinely "taking the son into his confidence and making him privy to the inner workings of the church at the highest level" (p. 113).

Gibbons portrays sympathetically the death of Smith's wife, leaving two daughters, and Smith's remarriage to a woman fourteen years his junior. He was appointed editor of the *Utah Genealogical and Historical Magazine* about 1908 and, at age thirty-three was called by his father in 1910 to fill a vacancy in the Quorum of the Twelve. There Joseph Fielding joined Hyrum M., who died eight years later. Despite President Smith's fears that he would be charged with nepotism, both he and young Joseph Fielding believed an apostolic calling was the son's by right and reward. For the next sixty years, Joseph Smith served his church as a strong-willed, articulate, and fearless special witness of the Mormon gospel, his life focused on the conviction that Jesus Christ's second coming was imminent.

Gibbons's careful narrative is cautious, straightforward, and reasonably comprehensive. There is considerable, perhaps unavoidable, overlap with an earlier biography, *The Life of Joseph Fielding Smith, Tenth President of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints* (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book Company, 1972), by Joseph Fielding Smith, Jr., and John J Stewart. Although Gibbons is a former secretary to the First Presidency who began his tenure under Joseph Fielding Smith and had access to otherwise restricted documents in LDS archives, he adds comparatively little new information or insights. The earlier biography is, it must be noted, less solemn and more animated in tone, for Gibbons's reverence for his subjects (this is his tenth biography of a Mormon Church president) is profound. I find it unfortunate that Gibbons devotes little space in a biography so lengthy to the Joseph Fielding Smith's intellectual development, influence, and philosophical legacy. He compresses Smith's well-known opposition to organic evolution into a five-page discussion (pp. 237-42), inaccurately reports that three, not one, BYU professors were fired in 1911 for teaching it, and dismisses the incident as mere "differences of opinion." On the

contrary, Joseph Fielding forcefully viewed his own beliefs as scriptural truths, a topic Gibbons uniformly treats reverentially but without significant analysis.

At times Gibbons also seems to exaggerate Smith's secular achievements, praising him for the growth of Brigham Young University (pp. 378-82), which actually owed far more to David O. McKay and especially Ernest L. Wilkinson. Gibbons portrays Joseph Fielding Smith as well-meaning, gentle, compassionate, and sensitive; but he downplays or does not mention rather dramatic disagreements with colleagues—for instance, B. H. Roberts and partisan politics, the League of Nations, and his son-in-law's controversial *Mormon Doctrine*. Smith was ninety-three when he became Church president, his mental and physical powers in sharp decline. Harold B. Lee, Smith's first counselor, was *de facto* president for the next year and a half before Smith's death; but Gibbons consistently glosses over Smith's debility and Lee's unofficial leadership. For example, Gibbons's report of Smith's first press conference (p. 458) would have readers believe that Smith participated in the exchange as fully as his counselor, yet this was not the case. Reporters had to submit their questions in writing and Lee managed the proceedings, Smith's involvement being confined to his presence only.

Gibbons also fails to explore in any detail Smith's dogmatic and authoritarian anti-intellectualism. Throughout his life, Smith routinely condemned as "dupes of Satan" any who did not agree with his understanding of Mormonism. He was convinced that much of biology, archaeology, psychology, and philosophy was inspired by the devil to destroy faith in Jesus Christ. His opus, *Man, His Origin and Destiny*, articulates this position fully. Highly literal in his approach to the scriptures, he blasted the "almost unforgivable ignorance" of "far too many" church members as well as virtually all non-LDS biblical scholars (Smith and Stewart pp. 320-21), also a topic Gibbons slights. "No matter how hard they study, no matter how great their research, no matter how much they understand about ancient languages, customs, etc., [they] must inevitably fail in their interpretations of the sacred scriptures [which] are spiritually discerned," he wrote energetically to Sidney B. Sperry, later of BYU's religion department and one of the few LDS scholars he trusted.¹ Gibbons apparently did not examine this correspondence. Yet when facing possible criticism from more senior colleagues, Smith could be surprisingly openminded: "Changes have come and policies will be different of course," he wrote to Elder Reed Smoot in 1919, shortly after the death of his father and the ordination of Heber J. Grant as Church

¹ Smith to Sidney B. Sperry, 5 September 1941, Sperry Papers, Archives and Manuscripts, Harold B. Lee Library, Brigham Young University, Provo, Utah.

president, "but I hope we will not be under censure for candid and sincere opinion."²

Smith's general mistrust of academic learning and lack of ability to engage in an exchange of views deserves more discussion than the minimal attention Gibbons gives them, for these two qualities set an anti-intellectual tone in the Church that has lasted from the 1920s to the present. Gibbons overlooks, for instance, Smith's caution to one would-be Mormon graduate student: "I fear for some [of] our young men who go out into the world to receive the learning of the world, for it seemingly destroys their faith."³ Gibbons also does not explore the implications of his sharp reaction to the "modernist" views of some seminary and institute teachers in the 1930s: "We may just as well close up shop and say to the world that Mormonism is a failure . . . [for] we are forced to reject all that has come through Joseph Smith."⁴

Although Gibbons notes Smith's preoccupation with the Second Coming, he does not explore the psychological dimensions of Smith's growing fears of scholarship and his generally pessimistic view of "the world," which led to such private laments as this:

The more I see of educated men, I mean those who are trained in the doctrines and philosophies of men now taught in the world, the less regard I have for them. Modern theories which are so popular today just do not harmonize with the gospel as revealed to the prophets, and it would be amusing if it were not a tragedy to see how some of our educated brethren have attempted to harmonize the theories of men with the revealed word of the Lord. Thank the Lord there is still some faith left, and some members who still cherish the word of the Lord and accept the prophets. Surely the world is ripening for destruction and Satan has power and dominion over his own. If any are saved surely the Lord must soon come and have power over his saints and reign in their midst, and execute judgements upon the . . . world.⁵

² Joseph Fielding Smith, Letter to Reed Smoot, 13 September 1919, Reed Smoot Papers, Manuscripts and Archives, Lee Library, Brigham Young University, Provo, Utah.

³ Smith to Sidney B. Sperry, 24 May 1926, Sperry Papers. Archives and Manuscripts, Harold B. Lee Library, Brigham Young University, Provo, Utah.

⁴ Smith to Franklin L. West and Milton L. Bennion, 11 March 1937, Smith Papers, LDS Church Archives.

⁵ Joseph Fielding Smith, Diary, 28 December 1938, Smith Papers, LDS Church Archives.

Joseph Fielding's fear of "the world," his rigid literalism, and his unreflective conviction that his own spiritual insights made his scriptural interpretations absolutely correct are important elements in the political and theological processes by which the Church moved through the twentieth century. Even Gibbons suggests some of the points at which Joseph Fielding Smith found himself out of harmony with his brethren. He did not accept official counsel to refrain from promulgating his anti-science views (pp. 240-21); he disagreed with the termination of gathering to Zion as an official policy (p. 430); he complained about the amount of money the Church was spending in the early 1960s (p. 430); and he doubted the appropriateness of calling assistants to the Twelve (p. 325). Regrettably, Gibbons never satisfactorily explains what these "aberrations" mean, either for Smith or for the Church; and he completely fails to mention Smith's racism.

As Church Historian or attached to that office for sixty years, Joseph Fielding Smith exercised immense influence on the Mormon "official" history. Gibbons praises Smith as a historian, but the fact of the matter is that Joseph Fielding Smith could not always distinguish clearly between his own view of the past and what a historical document actually said. Gibbons admits that Smith harbored considerable animosity toward Missouri and Illinois because of the Saints' suffering in those states more than a century earlier (pp. 247-48, 251); but Gibbons says nothing about the more serious problem that Joseph Fielding was not above manipulating the historical record in recreating the Mormon past. For example, in *The Way to Perfection*, pp. 101-102, he provides a slanted justification of racism, *Essentials in Church History*, pp. 419-20, gives a seriously misleading account of the Mountain Meadows massacre, and *Doctrines of Salvation* 1:102, is a manipulation of the Adam-God doctrine.

Gibbons has chosen to focus on the more positive and faith-promoting facets of Joseph Fielding Smith's life. However, a fuller account of the human being who was Joseph Fielding Smith would, in my opinion, result in a more truthful portrait of the Joseph Fielding Smith who was also a prophet. Rather than diminishing faith, such treatment enhances the miracle of God's ineffable work among fallible men and women, including Joseph Fielding Smith. In fact, ignoring even part of a person's life, however well-intentioned the motives for doing so, irreparably injures the inherent integrity of that individual and falsifies part of his or her otherwise enduring legacy.

Gibbons's biography, though reverential, has not created a false picture—just an unfinished portrait. In fact, it is better in many ways than previous popular biographies of LDS General Authorities, including several of Gibbons's own books. But it is not the biography it could have been: a full and honest portrayal of one of the most important figures of twentieth-century Mormon intellectual life; a strong-willed, opinionated,

insecure man who, as one of God's anointed apostles, both offended and comforted thousands of his fellow saints.

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Richard Neitzel Holzapfel. *Every Stone a Sermon: The Magnificent Story of the Construction and Dedication of the Salt Lake Temple*. Salt Lake City: Bookcraft, 1992; xi, 126 pp., photographs, appendices, index. \$15.95. ISBN 0-88494-624-2

Reviewed by Paul L. Anderson

The centennial of the dedication of the Salt Lake Temple arrived this year, inspiring a flurry of activities. The exterior of the temple itself underwent extensive restoration and cleaning for the occasion, and the building has never looked better. The walls fairly glisten from the effort. The Church produced and televised a major motion picture about the construction of the building (*The Mountain of the Lord*), and the Museum of Church History and Art mounted a special temple exhibit in an upstairs gallery. The centennial provided a major theme at April conference, and articles and talks about the temple's history and design have been presented in various Church publications and gatherings, including a whole issue of the *Ensign*. A new book about photographers of the temple (Nelson B. Wadsworth, *Set in Stone, Fixed in Glass*, reviewed in this issue), has appeared; and an older book about architecture was reissued (*The Salt Lake Temple: Monument to a People*, based on the research of C. Mark Hamilton, written in collaboration with the concept and design of C. Nina Cutrubus [1983; Salt Lake City: University Services, Inc., 1993]). Amid this cascade of orations and articles retelling the story of the temple one might be moved to ask, what more can possibly be done? Is there anything new to be said about this familiar part of LDS history?

Richard Neitzel Holzapfel, a Southern California LDS Institute teacher who has recently moved to the Church History Department at Brigham Young University, and prolific writer of books and articles about early photographs and historic sites of the Church, has produced his answer to the question in this illustrated study, *Every Stone a Sermon*. Although he retells much of the familiar story in a familiar faith-promoting voice, his clear and detailed narrative is enlivened by an array of quotations from contemporary journals and newspapers that add surprising details and perspectives. The cumulative effect of this fascinating collection of first-hand accounts is to create some truly memorable and vivid images of important events in the history of this most important Mormon

monument. The book also includes a fair number of interesting early photographs of the events he describes, although one might wish that they were reproduced more clearly on better paper.

The main text of the book, comprising only 105 pages, is organized in ten chapters and an appendix. The first four chapters move rather briskly through the well-known story of choosing and dedicating the temple site, laying the cornerstones, designing the building, and laboring on its construction. An interesting tidbit is the surprising informality of the groundbreaking service, with Brigham Young expressing some doubts about the chances of finishing the structure, Heber C. Kimball breaking the frozen sod with a pick, Young standing with the first shovelful of dirt waiting for the crowd to step back to make a place to throw it, and the crowd, armed with their own shovels, jumping forward to aid in the digging.

The next five chapters, about two-thirds of the text, focus in much greater detail on the last few years of construction, from the beginning of Woodruff's administration in 1887, to the dedication in 1893. Again, it is the details of the contemporary accounts that give the narrative considerable emotional power. The book shows that, for people throughout the Church, the temple's completion and dedication were the culmination and validation of their religious lives. There is a sense of earnestness among members and leaders as they prepare with special fasts, prayers, acts of repentance and forgiveness, and generous financial contributions. Contemporary accounts evoke images of tens of thousands of Saints arriving in the city by special trains and in wagons, and joining in a general reunion of families and friends—there is even an organized reunion for the survivors of the Willie and Martin handcart companies. There are also accounts of opportunists in the crowd: pick-pockets and burglars who dare rob even the house of the chief of police.

The description of the dedication itself is particularly fascinating. The huge crowds on Temple Square shivered as the first day of dedicatory services commenced amid freezing temperatures and the strongest winds ever recorded in the city. Participants in the many dedication services recorded heavenly music and visions of angels. One woman went into labor during a dedicatory session and gave birth in the temple. For some Church leaders, a climactic moment was a special temple testimony meeting between sessions, where Woodruff emphatically declared that the temple had been accepted by the Lord, then, exhausted spiritually and physically, suddenly fell ill and had to be taken home for a long recuperation. In the various accounts of this time of rejoicing, there is no lack of emotional intensity and human drama.

The book closes with a brief summary chapter and an appendix describing the design of the structure, the symbolism of its decorations, and the text of its inscriptions.

Although this short book is not the ultimate complete history of the temple, it may be one of the best souvenirs of the temple's centennial.

Other books and articles have given more detailed accounts of the design and construction process, and some have been more lavishly illustrated, but none gives a better feeling for the human dimension of the events we celebrate this year.

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Karl-Heinz Schnibbe, *Jugendliche gegen Hitler: Die Helmut Hübener Gruppe in Hamburg 1941/42* (Youth Against Hitler: The Helmut Hübener Group in Hamburg 1941/42). Documented by Blair Holmes and Alan Keele. Bergam See, Germany: Berg Publishing Company, 1991; 247 pp., illustrations, appendices, documents. 3-921655-75-7

Rudi Wobbe and Jerry Borrowman, *Before the Blood Tribunal*. American Fork, Utah: Covenant Communications, Inc., 1992; 166 pp., illustrations. 1-55503-396-2

Reviewed by David Kitterman

These two books are gripping accounts of LDS teenage boys in Hamburg who had the courage to resist the Nazi regime. They listened to BBC radio broadcasts during 1941 and early 1942, then distributed some of the sixty different leaflets written and transcribed from the broadcasts by their friend, Helmut Hübener, warning the citizens of the terrible dangers that Hitler was bringing upon them. The penalties for listening to enemy broadcasts and distributing enemy propaganda, were the same—death for high treason (Wobbe pp. 74-75). On 27 October 1942, seventeen-year-old Helmut Hübener was beheaded at Berlin's Plötzensee prison, the youngest to be executed at this infamous spot. (Between 1933 and 1945, this court, whose judges dressed in red robes, condemned three thousand who were executed by guillotine or hanging, including those Germans who tried to assassinate Hitler on June 20, 1944.) The authors of these two autobiographies were sentenced to hard labor. Karl-Heinz Schnibbe, age eighteen, received five years. Sixteen-year-old Rudi Wobbe was sentenced to ten years.

Each book contains an autobiography describing the author's life growing up as a Mormon in Germany, particularly from the Nazi takeover after 1933 until their arrest in early 1942. Each deals with the effort to remain faithful to the gospel and their parents' teachings despite increasing pressure from the Nazi government, Hitler Youth, suspicious neighbors, and even other church members who succumbed to Nazi intimidation and propaganda. Their Church beliefs and the teachings of their

parents strongly influenced their resistance. They were more than just anti-Hitler teenagers who happened to be Mormon. Both accounts describe their mental and moral development as teenagers and their resistance to the milieu of Hitler's Third Reich.

Rudi Wobbe, a machinist's apprentice, served three and a half years of his sentence in Nazi prisons in Germany and Poland before being freed by British troops in early June 1945. He married and immigrated with his young family to Salt Lake City in 1953 where he worked as a machinist. He signed the contract for his book's publication only a week before his death of cancer in January 1992. Karl-Heinz Schnibbe's memoir, in German, is much shorter, eighty-six pages, and ends in early 1944 when he and Wobbe are sent to Poland. Schnibbe's earlier book, *The Price: The True Story of a Mormon Who Defied Hitler*, written with Alan F. Keele and Douglas F. Tobler (Salt Lake City: Bookcraft, 1984), follows him farther. He was in the same prisons as Wobbe until the war's very end, when he was, rather incredibly, inducted into the German army, was sent to Czechoslovakia, was captured as a prisoner of war, and spent four years in Soviet prisons before returning to Germany in 1949. This book ends with a brief chapter describing Schnibbe's life in the United States.

Schnibbe's chief contribution in this second book is his memoir; Keele and Holmes have made an equally strong contribution by making available the five photocopies and transcriptions of fifty-seven documents of the three boys' trial before the "blood tribunal." These documents include the only surviving letter of three which Helmut Hübener was allowed to write just before his beheading. Fortunately, these documents have been translated into English, and the search for a publisher for the English-language manuscript, a version that is reportedly more substantial than the German, is currently underway.

Certainly, Helmut Hübener is not an unknown topic. Mormon readers are familiar with the story and its implications from Douglas F. Tobler's "The Jews, the Mormons, and the Holocaust," *Journal of Mormon History* 18, no. 1 (Spring 1992): 59-92 and Alan F. Keele and Douglas F. Tobler's "The Fuehrer's New Clothes: Helmut Hübener and the Mormons in the Third Reich," *Sunstone* 5 (November-December 1980): 20-29.

Still these two autobiographies are important additions to the history of German Mormons under the Third Reich because of their detailed and personal reporting. They describe the difficulties families had in keeping their moral balance when the Nazi regime demanded the total dedication hitherto reserved for God. Both Wobbe and Schnibbe successfully disengaged themselves from the obligatory Hitler Youth. Each book recounts the increasing persecution of their Jewish neighbors, the sad occasion in early 1933 when the Nazi president of St. Georg Branch posted a sign forbidding Jews to enter (Wobbe, p. 28; Schnibbe, pp. 51-52), and the prouder moment when, after the death sentence had been pronounced, the three teenagers were led back to their cells.

Onlookers from the courtroom lined both sides of their stairs and removed their hats in a quiet but effective demonstration of respect (Schubbe p. 87. Wobbe p. 76). The prison experiences alone are highly absorbing.

Both accounts are reliable and at times brutally honest assessments of the lives of Helmuth Hübener's two closest surviving helpers. They are quite consistent with each other and valuable contributions, separately and together, to the larger record of German Mormons under Hitler. The wrestle with life and conscience in cases where it may conflict with the law is one that forces every reader to wonder, "What would I do under similar circumstances?" It is a challenging and insight-provoking question.

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Nelson B. Wadsworth, *Set in Stone, Fixed in Glass: The Great Mormon Temple and Its Photographers*. Salt Lake City: Signature Books, 1992; xi, 388 pp., illustrations, notes, index. \$39.95. ISBN 1-56083-024-8.

Reviewed by Richard Neitzel Holzappel

Readers have come to expect well-designed and handsome publications from Signature Books, and the company's willingness to publish *Set in Stone* is commendable. The photographic reproduction of the nearly 400 images, many of them previously unpublished, is exceptional; the luxurious full-page prints are striking in this most recent celebration of early Utah photographers and their work.

Nelson Wadsworth reviews some well-known "photographic pioneers" (Marsena Cannon, Charles R. Savage, Charles W. Carter, George Edward Anderson, and Charles H. Johnson), lesser known photographers (Edward Martin, C. W. Symons, Effie Huntington, Joseph Bagley, James H. Crockwell, James and Harry Shipler), and discusses the escapades of Max Florence. He combines Carter and Symons, Anderson, Huntington, and Bagley, and the father-and-son Shiplers; each photographer otherwise receives his own chapter. Much of this material is based on the author's previously published work, but the information on Crockwell and the Shiplers is new. With Wadsworth's knack for discovering new images and his productive lifetime of devotion to photographic research, he has helped preserve thousands of rare glass plate negatives and

original prints. Anyone interested in Utah or Mormon photographic history must begin with his path breaking studies.¹

The images in this handsome volume are a wonderful opportunity to see a world that has vanished or has been transformed beyond recognition. Yet Wadsworth missed an important component by not including proper documentation with each photograph. His life's work in discovering and preserving these important artifacts becomes less available to fellow historians as a result.

Established standards for documenting historic photographs are exemplified in the premier scholarly journal in the field, *History of Photography*. These standards vary somewhat (sometimes including the type of photographic medium and/or the catalogue number), but documentation always includes (if known): photographer's name, title of photograph, date of photograph, and repository location.² Serious photographic historians now scrupulously observe these standards. *Lincobn: An Illustrated Biography*, by Philip H. Kunhardt, Jr., Philip B. Kunhardt III, and Peter W. Kunhardt (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, Inc., 1992), contains almost 700 images and is a popular, not a scholarly work; still it provides minimal "source credits" (p. 416).

Photographic historians, like print historians, and their publishers must be held accountable for accepted source and reference documentation or abandon the claim that photographic history is *real* history. Without documentation, a book of photographs is a mere picture book. Wadsworth apologizes, "In the early stage of collecting I did not always record the source of the photograph I was copying and consequently cannot say definitively where many of them came from" (p. x). I am sympathetic with this plight, but surely to eliminate all documentation is not the answer.

Furthermore, Wadsworth's earliest book, *Through Camera Eyes* identified the repository of each image included. He obviously realized the

¹ See Wadsworth's "A Village Photographer's Dream," *Ensign* 3 (September 1973): 40-55; *Through Camera Eyes* (Provo, Utah: Brigham Young University, 1975); and *Albumen Prints from the Charles Ellis Johnson Collection* (Provo: BYU College of Fine Arts and Communications, n.d.); and Douglas Tobler and Nelson B. Wadsworth, *The History of the Mormons in Photographs and Text: 1830 to the Present* (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1989).

² See for example, David Mattison and Daniel Savard, "The North-west Pacific Coast: Photographic Voyages 1861-1881," *History of Photography* 16 (Autumn 1992): 269-88. An alternative professional model is found in *Exposure*, published by the Society for Photographic Education; see also Richard Neitzel Holzapfel and T. Jeffery Cottle, "The City of Joseph in Focus: The Use and Abuse of Historic Photographs," *BYU Studies* 32 (Winter/Spring 1991): 249-68.

importance of such information and attempted to provide it. What has changed since then? Many of the views reproduced in his present work are also found in this first book. Surely information for these works could have been simply transferred to the new book. A better approach to Wadsworth's dilemma would have been to cite all those sources known and then identify those unknown as being part of the "author's collection." Even without the legal and ethical obligations involving copyright and permission citation, institutions and repositories deserve to have material used by scholars and publishers identified properly.

The value of Wadsworth's loving labor and fine achievement is further reduced by numerous historical problems in the captions. Encouragingly, Signature Books has since issued a second printing that amends some of these problems. Unfortunately, others remain. Image 35, the "first post office" in Salt Lake City, identifies William Bell as the first postmaster; both statements, corrected in the second printing, contradict published identifications.³ The "Godbeites' Mormon Tribune" and "Dinwoodey's Cabinet Shop" were located on First South between East and West Temple on the south side of the street, not on the "west side of East Temple Street between south Temple and First South," as the caption states (see p. 38; corrected in the second printing). The date of the late 1860s for Image 86 is incorrect; the photograph could not have been taken before 1878, the date when the wall around the Beehive House was replaced by an iron fence; more likely it dates from the early 1880s (corrected in the second printing). Wadsworth also wrongly identifies buildings and their locations in a fascinating series of views of the intersection of Main and South Temple (see image numbers 299, 300, 301 and 321). The building identified on p. 327 as the Union Pacific Building, which stood on the corner of South Temple and Main, is actually the McCormick Building, still standing today, on Main and First South (corrected in the second printing). Captions have been switched for images 30 and 31—the "unknown man" is Amasa Lyman and the one identified as "Amasa Lyman" is not known (corrected in the second printing). Image 233 shows a woman standing between two sets of railroad track; the caption says she is "in the doorway" (not corrected in the second printing). Image 310, a photograph of a parade south on Main Street through the intersection with South Temple, identified the date in the first printing as either the Jubilee Celebration of 1897 or the 1899

³ See Harold Schneider, "Utah's First Post Office and Postmaster," *Utah Historical Quarterly* 30 (1962): 347-51; see also William W. Slaughter and W. Randall Dixon, "Utah Under Glass: An Introduction to Four Prominent Pioneer Photographers of 19th century Utah" *Sierrama* 2 (Summer 1977): 33, in which the same image is identified as "The Post Office and a store on Main Street, about 1860."

return of troops from the Spanish American War. The second printing dates it as 1897, which is still incorrect. The absence of the Brigham Young Monument from the intersection dates it before 20 July 1897. In fact, a review of local newspapers identifies the parade as part of a July 1896 carnival.

Readers will naturally assume that each photograph in a chapter relates to the photographer discussed there, but images 58 and 74 in the chapter on Edward Martin are not his photographs (not corrected in the second printing). One is by Carter and the other by Savage. These images are located in each photographer's collection and have been identified correctly by Wadsworth in other publications. The caption indicates nothing about the photographer, leaving the reader to assume that they are Martin's images. Only rarely does the author provide any indication that such is not the situation in parallel cases.

Wadsworth identifies "an 1896 article in a local newspaper" as the source of information on Springville's Elsie Huntington (p. 200). The endnote gives the date as 1893 and identifies the newspaper as the *Springville Herald*. The name of Springville's newspaper was actually the *Springville Independent*, and the information quoted appears in neither year (uncorrected in second printing).

In discussing the Anderson photographic collection, Wadsworth states that Drucilla Powell Smith "took home some 16,000 negatives before microfilming" (p. 226), while she actually took these glass negatives home *after* they were microfilmed by LDS Historical Department Staff (uncorrected in second printing).

One final problem with this book is the relationship between the content and the title. The "Introduction" and the "Epilogue" sections discuss the Salt Lake Temple, but the remaining 340 pages actually constitute a history of Utah and Mormon photographers, several of whom had little, if anything, to do with the temple.

For example, the chapter featuring James H. Crockwell reproduces some thirty-eight images, but only one is of the temple, and it is captioned, "The Salt Lake Temple's towers rise toward the sky in 1886-87, when Salt Lake was Crockwell's home base and he was traveling through the small towns of Utah and Nevada." The reader is actually not sure who took this particular image. If not Crockwell, then why is he included in a book on temple photographers? The same can be said of the Martin chapter, since only two images come close in relating to the book's title. Ironically these photographs are taken from the Temple Block, but look beyond the walls to the surrounding streets. Martin's interest obviously is the city, not the temple. Since there are no extant Martin photographs of the temple, why include him in this work? The discussions of Huntington and Bagley (pp. 199-205) provide no evidence that either took an interest in photographing the "Great Mormon Temple."

In the gift-giving climate of the current Mormon book market, this

attractive and interesting work should find a wide audience, but ultimately it will be placed on a coffee table, instead of a reference desk. For historians the book provides some tantalizing views into a "window to the past," but the publisher and author have placed a fence around this "window" which ultimately obstructs any attempt to access Wadsworth's "veritable archive of Mormon photographica" for future use and study. It is extremely encouraging that the second printing corrected some of the errors. Readers may anticipate that future editions and other photographic works published by Signature will achieve an even higher standard.

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Stanley B. Kimball. *Historic Resource Study: Mormon Pioneer National Historic Trail*. N.p.: U.S. Dept. of Interior/National Park Service, 1991; 226 pp., maps, documents, photographs, bibliography. Available free from National Park Service, P.O. Box 2527, Denver CO 80225-0287.

Reviewed by William G. Hartley

From 1846 to 1868, the 1300-mile-long Mormon Trail was the main highway over which some 70,000 Latter-day Saints "gathered to Zion" in Utah Territory until the transcontinental railroad made the trail obsolete. In recent times, people like Stanley B. Kimball have resurrected the "ghost" trail, making it findable. Today, by government decree, it is officially the Mormon Pioneer National Historic Trail (MPNHT), its well-being monitored by the National Park Service.

The Park Service published this resource study (free to the public) to help federal, state, local, and private entities along the trail, and the public (including historians), have basic trail information and key recommendations for site development. It is organized into four parts: (1) history and background of the trek west (two chapters), (2) descriptions of trail travel, 1847-68 (three chapters), (3) historic sites and resources along the trail, by state, and (4) appendices containing fifteen maps, six documents (including a list of pioneer companies by year), eleven biographical sketches, and thirty-five photographs. The book concludes with a twenty-one-page bibliography of published books and articles about the trail. It is a "must" for those who study the trail or Mormon migration.

Kimball, professor of history at Southern Illinois University, is *the*

Mormon Trail expert of our generation, having been over the trail many times since 1963, annotated more than 900 trail accounts, and authored trail site and route books, including the present "bible" of trail followers, *Historic Sites and Markers Along the Mormon and Other Great Western Trails* (Urbana: University of Illinois, 1988). A former president of the Mormon History Association, Kimball received its Grace Fort Arrington Award in 1992 for Historical Excellence for his Mormon Trail work.

This resource book's historical summaries, though not intended to proffer new interpretations, are peppered with insights and trail lore drawn from the author's extensive research. For example, he reminds us (p. 9) of ten "uncommon aspects" of the LDS migration, including that the Saints moved as "villages on wheels, transplanting an entire people" and that westering pioneers usually traveled several abreast—the trail was a corridor up to a mile wide rather than a single road—so that trail ruts "are a romantic notion" except in a few places. Controversy swirls today about whether people should be allowed "on" historic trails; Stan's position is "no" to motorcycles and off-road vehicles but "yes" to walking in ruts which helps "preserve them" from being filled in and overgrown.

For me, Chapter 7 is the book's greatest contribution. It identifies and explains sixty-seven trail sites that merit inclusion on the National Register of Historic Sites. Only thirteen are registered so far! Many still need to be preserved, marked, made accessible, and explained properly by wayside signs and memorials. If the MPNHT is to be properly developed, local governments, civic and history groups, and concerned individuals must do the work, hopefully coordinating with the newly organized Mormon Trails Association. During the 1990s, Kimball's list will be the barometer of what is and isn't being done. With the trail's sesquicentennial approaching (1996 in Iowa, 1997 elsewhere), this book will be a valuable resource for trail development and memorializing projects.

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Rodolfo Acevedo A. *Los Mormones en Chile*. Santiago, Chile: privately published through Impresos y Publicaciones Cumora, 1991; bibliography, appendices, notes, illustrations, ca. \$10; Chilean copyright #77867

Reviewed by LaMond Tullis

To complete his *Licenciado en Historia* (master's degree in history) from the Pontificia Universidad Católica de Chile, Acevedo wrote the obligatory thesis. His first-proposed theme was the religious life of Chilean Indians, a subject to which he was attracted because of his readings in the Book of Mormon. However, his academic advisor steered him toward a history of Mormons in Chile. A bedrock member of the Mormon faith, I gather that Acevedo was both challenged and pleased. This book, Acevedo's thesis, is the first book-length published work on Mormons in Chile.

Acevedo pursued his thesis with a conviction and an élan uncommon to masters' candidates, driven by a need not only to find the facts—sparse and dispersed as they were in Chile—but to give them an interpretation defensible to his academic advisors, to his fellow Mormons, and to the Chilean people. Built into this endeavor was a desire to carry a seed of testimony about the restored church and its growth in Chile. Thus, this volume is substantial, as masters' theses go. Consistent with Latin Americans' predilections for macro understandings, Acevedo places Chilean Mormonism within the developmental context of the faith and socioeconomic and political conditions both in the United States and in Chile. Accordingly, there are chapters on the Church's foundation, on the Mormon exodus to Salt Lake, on the "religious question" (religious freedom) in Chile and on the general liberalization of Chile as a precursor for the country's accepting Mormons and other non-Catholics on proselyting ventures. There are chapters on early Mormons in Argentina (1925), on the spill-over of missionaries from Argentina into Chile (1956), and on the progressive divisions of the church's missions in South America until, finally, Chilean Mormons stand on their own feet (1961), now with their multiple missions (six in 1991), multiple stakes (fifty-one in 1991) and impressively numerous members (306,390 on 23 February 1991). This is a story of development, progress, and success.

Everything Acevedo has in his early chapters is easily found elsewhere. His irreplaceable contribution is his mining of the Chilean press and obscure Chilean documents to discover even fleeting mentions of Mormons. I was astonished at the press coverage Mormons have received in Chile, from 1846 on. This is an important original contribution.

A second important contribution is in lengthy Appendix 2 (pp. 109-72) where Acevedo organizes current data about Mormons in various regions. Much of the data comes from official Church reports (e.g., numbers of missionaries and average yearly and monthly conversion rates; percentage of population that is Mormon; baptisms per month and per year; relative percentages among the missions of annual baptisms; statistical, geographical, and organizational data on the Mormon establishment per regions), but gathering it all together in one place is a great service.

A third important contribution is Appendix 3 where Acevedo lists

and annotates information about the principal genealogical registers in Chile—civil, cemetery, memorial, census, electoral, notary, parochial, inquisitional (1550-1820), land and property (1550 on), diverse ecclesiastical, military, municipal, immigration, and various genealogical records.

A fourth contribution is, of course, the text's descriptive narrative of the development of the Church in Chile. However, in this strength also lies this book's principal weaknesses. The book is an institutional history, focusing on success, acceptance, and development; it fails to report, however, on significant developments in Mormon history and therefore lacks the kind of analysis that gives living form to a dynamic experience. I have absolutely no objection to an author's being driven by faith—most authors are driven by something and I would sooner be driven by faith than by its opposite—but being driven by faith ought not to preclude dealing with the difficult issues. For example, the Church established an impressive array of schools in Chile and then closed them down. Why? We learn nothing of the reasons from this book. The Church's buildings have been subjected to an unusual amount of vandalism, including bombings. Why? What does this mean about the Church's accorded position in Chilean society? No answers from this book. Why do members join? Acevedo reports others' views (pp. 71, 76, 78, 80), ranging from the spiritual anxieties of Chileans to a search for economic betterment, but he makes no mention of his own views until his surprising brief assertions in the conclusion (p. 191), which come down on the side of hierarchical structure, local leadership development, and the high visibility of the Church's building program. Is this all that drives new members? No answers here. What does joining the Church mean in terms of members' personal lives? We long to read but do not find. Why do so many members fall away? No answers in this book. What is the Church doing to refellowship its members and reinvigorate itself institutionally in a new national era when democracy has returned to Chile? No answers here.

Thus, although the book is a fine master's thesis and makes many excellent contributions, it suffers because it fails to address important questions outside the institutional historical narrative itself. A final revision and the editing normally associated with published works would have helped immensely. Finally, a few additional sources would have been useful, for example: A. Delbert Palmer, "Establishing the L.D.S. Church in Chile," (M.A. thesis, Brigham Young University, 1979); LaMond Tullis, "California and Chile in 1851 as experienced by Parley P. Pratt," *Southern California Historical Quarterly* 68:3 (Fall 1985): 291-307; and interviews with many more valid informants.

Anyone claiming to speak thoughtfully about Mormons in Latin America ought to read Acevedo's book. Shortcomings aside, it presents original information imbedded in a historically integrated narrative, and it

advances both the hope and the promise of Mormons in Chile to become a fully acknowledged national church.

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Richard Neitzel Holzapfel and Jeffery Cottle. *Old Mormon Nauvoo and Southeastern Iowa*. Santa Ana, California: Fieldbrook Productions, Inc., 1990; 257 pp., illustrations, three appendices, endnotes, selected bibliography, index. ISBN 1-879786-01-X

_____. *Old Mormon Palmyra and New England*. Santa Ana, California: Fieldbrook Productions, Inc., 1991; 225 pp., illustrations, two appendices, endnotes, selected bibliography, index. ISBN 1-879786-00-1

_____. *Old Mormon Kirtland and Missouri*. Santa Ana, California: Fieldbrook Productions, Inc., 1991; 335 pp., two appendices, endnotes, selected bibliography, index. ISBN 1-879786-02

Reviewed by Gordon A. Madsen

This trio of photographic tours of early Mormon historical sites is a long overdue and very welcome guide to historian and novice alike. *Old Mormon Nauvoo* (now in its second edition) met an enthusiastic reception, followed by *Old Mormon Palmyra and New England*; and with the printing of *Old Mormon Kirtland and Missouri*, the triumvirate completes the coverage of the Joseph Smith period. The numerous photographs of the buildings and sites are, as the authors carefully explain, all after Smith's time because photography was such a new technology during the 1830 and 1840s. Nevertheless wherever possible, the earliest known print was used, presumably to represent as nearly as possible how things appeared in Joseph Smith's day. The authors provide modern photographs for sites for which no early photo was available or use prints from other modern photographers.

With more scholarly candor than most guidebooks, they explain in the introduction to *Nauvoo*: "We discovered that some of the identified historical sites did not match information available in contemporary journals or in early photographs. Over the years it has been claimed that so-and-so lived at a particular site or that this old photograph depicts the home of so-and-so. It has been difficult in some cases to decide which, if any, of the traditions about a site or photograph are true" (p. vii). They deal with this problem in a responsible way: "We offer our results based

on our comparison of panoramic views of the city with pictures and descriptions of individual sites, including some previously unpublished photographs. We also used land records, diaries, journals, census records and letters in our effort to establish a site. We welcome further research—even if it means revising our conclusions" (pp. vii-viii). Thus they disclose their primary challenge in so ambitious an undertaking.

The maps are extremely useful for the self-help Church history traveler, both in locating the site and advising whether there is now standing an original or restored building, or merely a vacant site. In some cases, however, the maps are more detailed than the photo captions. I was disappointed in some instances that the authors did not indicate, particularly in the *Nauvoo* book, whether their photo is a contemporary view of a restored home or a nineteenth-century photograph of the original. Since all the photographs are in black and white, it is not always easy to ascertain the age or time of the picture.

Moreover, sometimes more explanation seems warranted. For example, on pp. 56-57 we learn that "The Nauvoo Legion Arsenal and Officers' Building Sites" are "nonextant buildings," but photos of two buildings appear on page 57, one a three-story residence, and the other a stone barn. The former is captioned "The Nauvoo Arsenal" and the latter, "Nauvoo Legion Officers' Quarters." One wonders if the former is a picture of a home built on the arsenal site or whether the arsenal had been remodeled into a home by the time of the undated photograph. Were the officers' quarters converted to a barn with a remarkable number of windows or does this building represent a subsequent construction built on the quarters' site by the time the photograph was taken?

In the same vein, the pictures in the *Palmyra* volume of the Sharon homesite, the Solomon Mack farm, and the erection of the birthplace monument in 1905 (pp. 50-58) would have been more useful with at least one modern shot showing what the birthplace area looks like now, if for no other reason than to help the present travelers orient the views published to today's surroundings. The same objection applies with equal force in *Kirtland* to Haun's Mill and Liberty Jail (pp. 176, 243-45).

The text and explanatory "Historical Background" commentary accompanying each photograph also present some problems with redundancy. In *Nauvoo*, the introduction gives a succinct outline of Mormonism's origins and history preceding the Nauvoo period, then presents the photographs and historical background of each site. *Kirtland* and *Palmyra*, in contrast, each include a Chapter 1 that summarizes Mormon origins and extends the history to cover Nauvoo as well. I surmise these essays were to make each volume a free standing reference on early Mormonism's main sites. Unfortunately, the *Kirtland* and *Palmyra* studies also add summary history chapters of Mormon, American, and Native American history for Missouri, Ohio, New York, and New England which repeat and expand their Chapter 1. Then some of the same material

reappears a third time in the "historical background" text accompanying the photographs.

More problematic are inconsistencies and gaps in documentation. Each volume includes an exhaustive bibliography, but the endnoting is inadequate. For example, they supply no reference for the information that "Daniel H. Wells, then a non-Mormon, donated the [Nauvoo] temple block to the Church," but it is hardly common knowledge (p. 35). Repeatedly several paragraphs summarize a town's history, identify its Mormon resident(s), and give a short quotation from one of those persons. The quotation is endnoted but not the background on the town. (See *Palmyra*, pp. 39-45 and 166-67; *Kirtland*, pp. 86-91, 183-89; and *Nauvoo*, pp. 3-6 and 186-88 as examples.)

Rather inconsistently, many other quotations from diaries and journals are endnoted, sometimes to the original source and repository, and other times to such secondary sources as William Mulder and A. Russell Mortensen's *Among the Mormons: Historic Accounts by Contemporary Observers* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1969). More troublesome are inconsistent "umbrella" endnotes. For example, biographical information about Amos Davis (*Nauvoo*, p. 40) is referenced to a helpful endnote (p. 229, n. 8), which explains: "The information has been gathered from various sources, some of which present conflicting information on dates, places, and spelling. The principal source materials for this information are Lyndon Cook, *The Revelations of the Prophet Joseph Smith*. . . Susan Easton Black, *Membership of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints*. . . and information provided by Corey Merrick [actually Kory Meyerink] at the LDS Church Family History Library."

Through the rest of the volume, however, the biographical material for the most part goes unendnoted, and most of it is paraphrased from the biographical notes in Cook. I found no reference to Cook's *Revelations* at all in the *Kirtland* volume and the same biographical information continues to appear in abridged form without citation, Nathaniel Miliken and Warren Parrish (p. 56) being early examples. The same dearth occurs in *Palmyra*.

But these quibbles are somewhat trivial disagreements about taste or priority compared to the substantial and meaningful accomplishment of collecting and organizing the pictures so as to guide the simplest or most sophisticated through early Mormon country. I particularly enjoyed the photographic essay on the Kirtland Temple complete with the architectural drawings from the Historic American Buildings Society found in the middle of the *Kirtland* volume. Other readers will no doubt find their own favorites.

And despite my dissatisfactions with documentation, I hasten to add that the overall effect of each volume is of a handy, informative, and graphic tour through the formative period of Mormon history, with numerous vignettes from the journals, letters, and diaries of Joseph

Smith's contemporaries. If there are later printings, for which I hope, these problems can be addressed.

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Bruce A. Van Orden. *Prisoner for Conscience' Sake: The Life of George Reynolds*. Salt Lake City: Desert Book, 1992; ix, 261 pp., photographs, notes, appendices, bibliography, index; \$22. 0-87579-595-1

Reviewed by Ray Jay Davis

Recently I renewed my acquaintance with George Reynolds, whom I first discovered when I was a boy exploring his writings on the Book of Mormon. As a law student, I encountered him again, this time as the defendant in the 1870s lawsuit testing the constitutionality of anti-polygamy legislation. Now, through reading Bruce Van Orden's biography of George Reynolds, I have gained a comprehensive view of the man as an author, husband of three wives, father of thirty-two children, sacrificial lamb for his religious faith, ecclesiastical bureaucrat, and a president of the First Council of the Seventy of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints.

Van Orden, an associate professor of Church history and doctrine at Brigham Young University, has built upon his prior writings about Reynolds, adding to our understanding of his life and times. Drawing from Reynolds's diaries, family reminiscences, and other primary and secondary records, the biography explores the Mormon, English, and Utah contexts within which Reynolds lived. The reader catches a glimpse of life among late nineteenth-century Mormon leaders but is not offered a broader view of historical, social, and economic developments in America as they impacted Utah. The book, as well as the world of George Reynolds, is Utah Mormon-centered.

American legal history remembers George Reynolds as the polygamy test-case defendant. In 1874 he was a thirty-two-year-old English convert and Church employee, who recently had married his second wife. He readily agreed when asked by his mentor, George Q. Cannon of the First Presidency, to become the defendant in a trial. The legal issue was whether criminalization of bigamy in territories of the United States by the 1862 Morrill Act was unconstitutional as applied to religiously mandated plural marriages. Van Orden traces shifting attitudes and events through two Reynolds trials (the first was reversed and remanded because of a procedural error) and appeals to the territorial supreme court, then presents an extensive analysis of the United States Supreme Court's

1879 decision affirming Reynolds's conviction and thus declaring that the Morrill Act did not violate the free exercise of religion clause of the First Amendment.

Chief Justice Morrison Waite's opinion in *Reynolds v. United States* said that the First Amendment deprived the U.S. Congress of power to legislate concerning beliefs but did not prevent it from criminalizing "actions which were 'subversive of good order' and a violation of social duties (p. 87). Given the temper of the times, it is no surprise that Waite assumed that Reynolds's second marriage was contrary to the common good and hence subject to Congressional regulation. Subsequent First Amendment cases adopted a balancing test weighing community versus individual interests. But in 1990, in a development not noted by Van Orden, the Court returned to the narrow approach of *Reynolds* in religious freedom cases and ruled that the free exercise clause could not protect conduct barred by general criminal laws not aimed at religion as such.¹ The balancing test has, at the close of the twentieth century as at the close of the nineteenth, been abandoned.

Not long after serving a year and a half in prison for contracting his second marriage, the undaunted Reynolds married a third wife. His family life was difficult because he was living "on the underground"—hiding from federal marshals seeking him for the crime of bigamous cohabitation. Constitutionality of the 1882 Edmunds Act which made such conduct illegal was upheld on the authority of the *Reynolds* case precedent. Fortunately he was never apprehended.

There is no question that Reynolds was a willing martyr to the religious cause he espoused wholeheartedly. Less well-known but equally valuable is the differing view his first wife would have probably registered on the topic. Mary Ann (Polly) Tuddenham, the first Mrs. Reynolds, who died just after he married a third time, did not always get along with Amelia Jane Schofield, the second wife. Polly referred to Amelia (in a comment Van Orden tactfully buries in a note) as that other woman "who had caused her so much grief" (p. 158). Mary Gulliford Goold, the third Mrs. Reynolds, raised Polly's seven surviving children and her own nine in a home apart from Amelia's.

The biography deals with more than the dramatic events of Reynolds's legal status. Even a church with a lay priesthood needs a professional staff, and George Reynolds was an essential part of the Church machinery. Schooled in London and Paris, he was ambidextrous and apprenticed as a cashier and clerk before he joined the Church. While serving his first mission in England, he was a secretary and a Church emigration agent. These experiences stood him in good stead when he reached Utah in

¹ See *Cantwell v. Connecticut*, 310 U.S. 296 (1935), and *Employment Division v. Smith*, 494 U.S. 872 (1990).

1865, and he was promptly hired by a wealthy merchant as a bookkeeper. Later that year, he became a bookkeeper at the Church Tithing Office. During his career, he was so often secretary of so many organizations that he once quipped, that upon his arrival in heaven they would say, "Here comes Brother Reynolds, let's make him secretary" (p. 119). Personal secretary to four Church presidents, he served in the Church bureaucracy forty-four years. Certainly not the least of his qualifications was his ability to keep confidences.

George Reynolds, like most active Mormons of any era filled many church callings during his life. The highlights of his service, though, were the Sunday School, where as the Deseret Sunday School Union general treasurer, councilor, and board member he helped shape that auxiliary, and his nineteen years as a member of the First Council of Seventy, where he was secretary to the Missionary Committee and visiting General Authority to Seventies' quorums and stakes throughout Mormon country. Reynolds, however, always made it clear that his employment and callings were separate.

The biography has a bibliographical appendix of fifteen pages of Reynolds's writings, including a page-long list of books, and 416 entries under articles. Reynolds wrote broadly on church-related subjects, particularly for Sunday School lessons, but the Book of Mormon was the focus of his books. His magnum opus was the monumental *Complete Concordance of the Book of Mormon* (Salt Lake City: Reynolds, 1900), begun in prison. Van Orden ranks Reynolds as one of the greatest Book of Mormon scholars among such luminaries as Orson Pratt, B. H. Roberts, Sidney Sperry, and Hugh Nibley (p. 204).

When George Reynolds died in 1909, a national veterans' convention was being held in Salt Lake City. The veterans provided bunting and music as though they sought to fulfill Reynolds' light-hearted prophecy that flags would fly and bands would play at his passing. Neither was necessary to honor him. Van Orden's affectionate biography will keep alive the memory of this "prisoner for conscience' sake."

RAYJAY DAVIS, a professor at the J. Reuben Clark Law School of Brigham Young University, has published several articles about the legal ramifications of practicing plural marriage for religious reasons. In addition to his interest in western American legal history, he has written widely about the law of compensation for personal injuries and natural resources law.

Myrtle Stevens Hyde and Everett L. Cooley, *The Life of Andrew Wood Cooley: A Story of Conviction*. Provo, Utah: Andrew Wood Cooley Family

Association, 1991; xxvi, 287 pp., photographs, maps, facsimiles, appendices, references, notes, sources, index; \$25.00

Reviewed by Allan Kent Powell

Books written and published by family associations for family members often have limited appeal to the general history community. Fortunately that is not the case with *The Life of Andrew Wood Cooley*, a joint effort by one Cooley descendant, Everett L. Cooley, former director of the Utah State Historical Society and emeritus professor of history at the University of Utah, and an "in-law," Myrtle Stevens Hyde, a Fellow of the American Society of Genealogists. They have written a biography that the Cooley family will find valuable and that offers insights to students of nineteenth-century Mormon and Utah history.

Andrew Wood Cooley was born in Michigan in 1837 and joined the Mormon Church in 1863 while enroute to California when he stopped in Salt Lake City to visit his aunt and uncle. In 1866 he married Mary Huntington and took up thirty acres of land west of Salt Lake City where, a year later he was ordained bishop of the local Ward.

Two years after his marriage to Mary, he married Mary Jane Jenkins and Rachel Caroline Coon on the same day. These women, friends, had gone to Andrew's first wife with the suggestion of marriage to which she consented. The fourth wife, Ann Hazen, joined the family two years later at the age of fifteen at her father's request. She was becoming too interested in a young Gentile railroad worker.

Andrew was arrested in October 1885 on charges of unlawful cohabitation and spent six months in the Sugarhouse penitentiary. The first polygamist convicted and incarcerated a second time after he continued to live with his plural wives following his release, Cooley returned to prison in 1887 and served another five months (hence the pun in the subtitle) until his brother-in-law, Sam Hazen, paid the \$25 fine and \$34.44 in court costs to spare him the last month behind bars. It was a humanitarian gesture since Andrew, who was sick with diabetes, lived only ten weeks after his release and died at the age of fifty.

In a short, but excellent foreword, Davis Bitton summarizes the value of the biography: "Cooley was typical of what most Mormons were going through in frontier Utah. Recalcitrant terrain resistant to the farmer's efforts, repeated bouts with disease and death within the family, the challenge of human interaction made more intense by plural marriage. . . ." (pp. xlii-xiv). Friendship among the four wives did not prevent difficulties, which Hyde and Cooley discuss to the extent that sources permit.

Death followed the family constantly. All four wives lost children and eleven of Andrew's thirty-two offspring preceded him in death. None was more heart-wrenching than the death by pneumonia of thirteen-year old Maretta in March 1886. Prison officials allowed Andrew to spend a

few hours with his daughter the day before her death and to return the next day, only to arrive fifteen minutes after she passed away. However their magnanimity stopped there as Andrew was not permitted to attend her funeral.

Andrew's faith and his polygamous life style were an embarrassment to his family in Michigan. When he returned to visit his dying father in 1880 after an absence of seventeen years, he found that family members had struck his name from the family sections of their Bibles and that he was not permitted to attend his father's funeral.

It was during his visit to Michigan that Cooley wrote the first letter that has been preserved. In prison he wrote eleven others. He left no diary or autobiography; and one of the challenges to his biographers is to knit his life together with so few sources. Their success is instructive to others who would undertake biographies of individuals who left few records. They mined tax records, census records, deed books, newspaper articles, interviews, and the writings of Andrew Cooley's contemporaries to enhance the biography. Where no records are available the authors use conjecture, with appropriate qualifiers, to add detail to their picture. In describing Cooley's employment the authors write, "For a living he likely did farm work, using skills gained while growing up on his father's ample acres. . . ." Or, "Andrew perhaps labored on 'Public Works' projects, instituted by Brigham Young to provide employment for individuals such as Andrew" (p. 12). In a few places the boundaries of conjecture might seem stretched a little, at least for skeptical readers outside the Cooley family who might question that "Judging from the high intelligence of his children and grandchildren, chances are that Andrew was of high intelligence also" (p. 12). But the overall use of carefully footnoted documents and understanding of the time in which Andrew Cooley lived makes this a very successful biography. Added bonuses are the excellent photographs, the detailed maps of sites associated with Andrew Cooley and his family, and the facsimiles of letters written by Cooley.

ALLAN KENT POWELL is Historian at the Utah State Historical Society.

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